

COMPARING *BIFA JI* AND *LINQUAN GAOZHI*:
SHIFTS IN ART WRITINGS ABOUT LANDSCAPE
IN THE FIVE DYNASTIES AND NORTHERN SONG PERIODS

BY
MENGCHEN HUANG

THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in Art History
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2013

Urbana, Illinois

Adviser:

Associate Professor Anne Burkus-Chasson

ABSTRACT

This is a study of differences between *Bifa ji* and *Linquan gaozhi*, two Chinese art texts written in the tenth and eleventh century, respectively. The comparison of these two writings opens the window on the way that shifts in art writings took place during late Northern Song period. I analyze how descriptions of the object of representation, ways of seeing the landscape, and the craft of painting in *Bifa ji* and *Linquan gaozhi* differ from each other. As a result, I argue that the author of *Linquan gaozhi* valued pictorial representation in landscape painting. This shift was affected by cultural trends reflected in contemporary paintings and philosophical, literary, and art texts.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 1: THE OBJECT OF REPRESENTATION: <i>FROM XIANG TO YINYANG</i>	5
CHAPTER 2: FROM REPRESENTATION TO PERCEPTION: WAYS OF SEEING THE LANDSCAPE.....	17
CHAPTER 3: THE MEANS OF REPRESENTATION: THE CRAFT OF PAINTING.....	25
CONCLUSION.....	34
NOTES.....	35
GLOSSARY.....	41
ILLUSTRATIONS.....	45
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS CITED.....	48

Introduction

Chinese landscape painting, it is generally recognized, reached one of its highest points of excellence in the Five Dynasties (907-960) and Northern Song (960-1127) periods. During this time, a number of essays were written on this subject. Two writings stand out in their specialized discussion of landscape painting: *Bifa ji* 筆法記 (A record of the methods of the brush) by Jing Hao 荆浩 (ca. 870-ca. 930), a landscape painter and scholar-official;¹ and *Linquan gaozhi* 林泉高致 (Lofty attraction of forests and streams) by Guo Xi 郭熙 (ca. 1000-ca. 1090), a court painter who worked under the reign of Emperor Shenzong 神宗 (1067-1085).² In his preface to *Linquan gaozhi*, the scholar-official Guo Si 郭思 (act. ca. 1070-after 1123), Guo Xi's son, asserted that he compiled the text from notes he had taken from conversations with his father. Throughout this essay, therefore, I shall refer to Guo Si as the author of *Linquan gaozhi*.

These two treatises have distinctive styles and different relations to previous writings on landscape. *Bifa ji* was written in the form of a fairy tale: a painter, while wandering in the mountains, encounters an old man.³ The old man instructs the painter on the underlying principles of painting and the rules of using the brush. This genre of writing had its literary origin in works such as *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳 (Transmissions concerning the arrayed transcendents), attributed to the Confucian scholar Liu Xiang 劉向 (79-8 BCE), and *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳 (Transmissions concerning the divine transcendents), partially attributed to the Daoist scholar Ge Hong 葛洪 (283-343).⁴ Both contain hagiographies of Daoist saints and magicians. The old man in Jing Hao's text assumes the characteristics of one of the revered transcendents whose lives are recounted in these earlier compilations. He appears out of nowhere and possesses special powers. Further, his encounter with the painter occurs deep within the Taihang Mountains 太行山 in north central China. The painter meets his divine teacher after he enters a "grand portal of cliffs," where he saw "moss-grown trails watered with dew" and "strange-shaped rocks wreathed in auspicious mists" and a grand pine that seemed about to "plunge into the Cloudy Han."⁵ As though he were writing a historical record, Jing Hao identifies the precise location of the scene of instruction as Shenzheng shan 神鉦山, Spirit Bell Mountain. The reference to a mountain whose rock produces sound like a bell when struck appears in other magical tales.⁶ The strange-shaped rocks, auspicious mists, and the ancient pine are all symbols of the otherworldly nature of the landscape.

The narrative lends *Bifa ji* a structure that distinguishes it from *Linquan gaozhi*. The latter is a record of Guo Xi's artistic practice, especially with regard to the representation of landscape. There is no overarching structure in this text. In the preface and the following six chapters, Guo

Xi's ideas on art are presented in a matter-of-fact, albeit miscellaneous, way. The chapters run as follows: "Instructions on Landscape Painting" (*Shanshui xun* 山水訓), "The Meaning of Painting" (*Huayi* 畫意), "Secrets of Painting" (*Huajue* 畫訣), "Reminders on Painting Styles" (*Huage shiyi* 畫格拾遺), "Painting Topics" (*Huati* 畫題), and "A Record of Painting" (*Huaji* 畫記). Unlike *Bifa ji*, the sections in *Linquan gaozhi* appear to be disorganized and even incoherent.

Modern scholars have been inclined to associate *Linquan gaozhi* with philosophy. For some, the text embodies the philosophy of Zhuangzi 莊子 (369 BCE-286 BCE). This is not unusual, for many art writings have been linked to Zhuangzi's philosophy by critics of various historical periods.⁷ Regarding *Linquan gaozhi*, they claim that the text reveals the value of landscape painting, which is to provide gentlemen with a realm where they can retreat from the world.⁸ Other scholars have identified Neo-Confucian thinking with certain strains of thought in *Linquan gaozhi*. They argue, for instance, that Song readers would have been able to recognize the Neo-Confucian concept of *gewu* 格物 (investigation of things) in *Linquan gaozhi*. However, philosophers in Northern Song times had different explanations of this concept.

Other art historians use *Bifa ji* and *Linquan gaozhi* to justify their arguments on Northern Song painting. The view from Wen C. Fong is especially worth revisiting. Fong argues that recluse scholars in the late ninth and early tenth centuries turned to the depiction of "monumental landscape," which Fong defines as a "symbolic, cosmic vision of man's harmonious existence in a vast and orderly universe."⁹ During the Northern Song dynasty, professional court painters absorbed the spirit of the recluse painters and projected it onto a heroic vision of a timeless, archetypal landscape. Fong uses *Bifa ji* and *Linquan gaozhi* as his evidence. First, Fong adopts *zhenjing* 真景, a phrase from Jing Hao's *Bifa ji*, to support his view of the timeless landscape. He translates this phrase as the "landscape of truth," but it should rather be translated as "authentic scene."¹⁰ Fong assumes that the tenth-century view on landscape painting in *Bifa ji* was the same as that in the late eleventh-century *Linquan gaozhi*. He does not consider differences in the historical context of their composition. Once we historicize the relation of contemporary philosophy to *Bifa ji* and *Linquan gaozhi*, we find significant shifts in the two authors' attitudes toward landscape painting. Secondly, Fong quotes a passage from *Linquan gaozhi*, which pertains to three scenes of a mountain in a painting, to demonstrate that Fan Kuan's 范寬 (d. after 1023) *Travelers amid Streams and Mountains*, a painting that dates to about 1000, exemplifies an early Northern Song vision of cosmic order.¹¹ Yet Fong does not see Guo Xi's or Fan Kuan's artistic decisions in context. Fan Kuan's painting does not effectively represent Guo Xi's description of landscape.

It is problematic to write a cultural history of Northern Song times based on two texts on painting. By nature, *Linquan gaozhi* is not a work of philosophy; the direct application of philosophical principles is not apparent in this text. Neither Zhuangzi nor any Neo-Confucian thinker of the Northern Song could represent the philosophical trends of this period. Thus, to consider *Linquan gaozhi* a philosophical treatise is to assume that the text is equivalent to but one strain of thinking. Further, as Michael Baxandall questions, it can be asked why one should try to associate a style of painting with something as closely conceptualized as a position in philosophy or science. Baxandall argues that the affinity between painting and conceptualized thoughts is partly due to "a desire to see human cultures and human minds as wholes rather than fractured and fortuitous."¹² Complex philosophical concepts do not necessarily find their counterpart in art writings. It is hard to see what one can do with, or what it means by, the fact that the writing of *Linquan gaozhi* was equivalent to Neo-Confucian ideas.

For these reasons, in what follows the connection that I make between ideas and painting shall be based on how the idea is related to the object of representation and visual experience. In this essay, I shall argue that the difference between *Bifa ji* and *Linquan gaozhi* mirrors changes in writing about landscape during the late Northern Song. I use *Bifa ji* to underscore the new focus of *Linquan gaozhi*, which differs from that of previous art writings. There are three sections in my essay, each of which deals with an issue about representation. In the first section, I examine what is supposed to be represented in landscape painting as suggested in *Bifa ji* and *Linquan gaozhi*. I argue that, as the object of painting changed over time, Jing Hao and Guo Si had different views about visual representation; this came to exemplify a shift in landscape painting. Jing Hao's attitude towards representation is revealed in his discussion of the word *xiang* 象 (image). The meaning of the word in *Bifa ji* is associated with pre-Song uses of *Yijing* 易經 (The book of changes), a classic text on divination. In pre-Song uses of this book, *xiang* reflects the question of representation that is always entangled with philosophical ideas. By linking *xiang* in *Bifa ji* to that in pre-Song *Yijing* commentaries, I want to suggest that Jing Hao placed value on pictorial representation insofar as it revealed the underpinnings of Heaven-and-Earth. Much less importance is attached to this word in *Linquan gaozhi*. Instead, *yinyang* 陰陽 became the object of representation. I will explore how this new focus reflects a shift in Song scholars' uses of *Yijing*. Although the ontological significance of *yinyang* was not entirely drained from *Linquan gaozhi*, this pattern was visually oriented toward the description of landscape. This shift indicates that Guo Si was more interested in the pictorial aspects of representation.

In the second section of this essay, I will focus on perception by examining how Guo Si explored various ways of seeing in *Linquan gaozhi*. I compare the phrases that describe the act of

seeing in *Bifa ji* and *Linquan gaozhi*. I argue that in *Bifa ji*, seeing is intentionally rejected in the process of painting, whereas in *Linquan gaozhi*, it becomes crucial. *Linquan gaozhi* involves not only the object of representation but also an entirely new perception of the phenomenal world. Guo Si's emphasis on seeing and optical illusions was concurrent with other art writers' awareness of the multiple views one could see at once in paintings of landscape and architecture. It was also coincident with the way that Northern Song travelers observed the fleeting images of light and shadow in a landscape, and the relation of their moving bodies to the changing landscape. I will examine how Guo Xi's painting exhibits different views of a single landscape and changing positions of an active viewer.

In the third section of this essay, I compare how Jing Hao and Guo Si wrote about the craft of painting in *Bifa ji* and *Linquan gaozhi*. Jing Hao put the discussion of painterly technique in a fairy tale. I suggest that this genre of writing might have made Jing Hao's attention to craft, albeit slight, acceptable to his contemporaries. Although Jing Hao wrote about the methods of using the brush and ink, he did so to underscore the spiritual aspect of painting. I want to see how this contradiction reflects a disinclination to write about craft prior to late Northern Song times. Moreover, in *Bifa ji*, although remarks on painterly techniques are very specific in some cases, they are dispersed, casual, and unsystematic. Jing Hao placed more value on the non-technical nature of representation. A similar attitude toward craft is evident in late Northern Song illustrated texts and encyclopedias. Nevertheless, Guo Si did not follow these sources in relation to the discussion of craft. He described techniques that his father adopted in detail; he developed and coined new technical terms; he explored the practical aspects of painterly techniques, even though *Linquan gaozhi* was not intended as a how-to manual. I will examine how these differences suggest a historical moment of transformation in art writings on landscape painting.

CHAPTER 1

The Object of Representation: From *Xiang* to *Yinyang*

Guo Si and Jing Hao understood what was represented in landscape painting in different ways. For Jing Hao, an artist sizes up the image of a thing and from that seizes upon the authentic in it. The authentic is that which is represented in painting. Because the image is an indispensable means through which the artist seizes the authentic, Jing Hao used the word *xiang*, or image, many times in *Bifa ji*, which is a sign of its importance. However, *xiang* in *Bifa ji* is not closely linked to pictorial representation. Unlike Jing Hao, Guo Si did not feature the word *xiang*. In *Linquan gaozhi*, the word denotes the physical appearance of objects and scenes in the landscape. As Guo Si directed people to see the external image of a thing, he was not concerned about the potential of *xiang* that denoted the inner nature of objects and their relation to human society. Instead, Guo drew attention to the *yinyang* pattern that manifested itself in the landscape. This shift accords with Northern Song uses of *Yijing*, and in particular the interpretation of Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101), with whom Guo was acquainted. This point helps us further understand how Guo Si defined the object of representation in painting differently from Jing Hao and other previous art writers.

Xiang is a complex word. It is prevalent in philosophical works, literary works, and art writings. The meaning of this word varies in these different genres of texts. Important examples of pre-Song uses of *xiang* appear in some parts of *Yijing*. *Yijing* is based on sixty-four hexagrams. Each hexagram is composed of six-line figures, and each figure is composed of divided or undivided lines. Various categories of texts elaborate these hexagrams, figures, and lines in detail. In the hexagrams, we find attached to the commentary of each line a brief text, called *xiang*. According to Hellmut Wilhelm, the *xiang* texts start from the symbolic meaning of the lines and indicate their basic application to a human, social, or cosmic situation. The *xiang* texts frequently refer to "historical situations, or to typical actions and attitudes of compelling symbolic force," and therefore arouse a desire to emulate.¹³ According to A. C. Graham, *xiang* is a structure rather than a delineated image. He quotes an early philosopher who suggested that everything people used to get the idea of or imagine was called a *xiang*.¹⁴

In *Bifa ji*, the use of *xiang* occupies a pivotal position. Jing Hao's discussion about *xiang* characterizes his attitude toward representation of landscape. For him, the *xiang* of the landscape takes the place of the authentic and represents the ethical concerns of artists. To represent is to bring to mind the internals of the objects by portraying their *xiang*. In the text, the old man states at the beginning of his lecture:

Painting is to etch lines. One sizes up the image (*xiang*) of a thing and from that seizes upon what is authentic (*zhen*) in it. If it is the visible pattern (*hua*) of a thing - seize its visible pattern; if it is the essential substance (*shi*) of a thing - seize its essential substance. One cannot seize on visible pattern and make it essential substance. If one does not know this technique one can perhaps squeeze out a likeness, but the representation of authenticity can never be attained.¹⁵

畫者，畫也。度物象而取其真。物之華，取其華，物之實，取其實，不可執華為實。若不知術，苟似可也，圖真不可及也。

The purpose for the painter to "seize upon" *xiang* is to know the *zhen* 真 (authentic) aspect of a thing. There are two aspects to *xiang*: one is *hua* 華 (visible pattern), which is external and perceivable; the other is *shi* 實 (essential essence), which is internal and imperceivable. If the painter seizes on the visible pattern, but does not know the essential substance of a thing, he would merely attain likeness and fail to represent the authentic. Jing Hao considered both aspects of *xiang* important, and yet he put more weight on the hidden, complex structure and the essential substance of *xiang*, rather than its visible pattern. He then demonstrated the role that *qi* 氣 (vital energy) plays in seizing *xiang*:

Likeness gets the shape, but drops out the vital energy (*qi*). Authenticity is when vital energy and essence (*zhi*) are both abundant. As a general rule, if vital energy is passed only through external pattern and is dropped out of the image (*xiang*), then image dies.¹⁶

似者得其形遺其氣，真者氣質俱盛。凡氣傳於華，遺於象，象之死也。

Here Jing Hao contrasted what he called "likeness" and "authenticity." Likeness means getting the shape. However, painting is not a production of a likeness. The old man challenges the painter with a philosophical discussion about authenticity, which is a product of both internal essence and vital energy. Authenticity, rather than likeness, is what a painted image should attain.

Subsequently, in the text, Jing Hao teaches the painter about how to picture a pine tree, while at the same time not losing sight of its *xiang*.

Since you like to draw clouds, forests, mountains, and streams it is necessary that you understand the sources of objects and their images (*xiang*). Now a tree's birth and growth are in accord with the nature (*xing*) that it receives. The pine grows bent but is not crooked. It can be thick or sparse, neither dark green nor light green. From the time it is a tiny sapling it is naturally upright and the mind it has as a sprout is never brought low. Once its tendent force is toward independence and loftiness, its branches grow low, bend downward, or even hang straight down without touching the ground and are divided into layers as though stacked in the forests. They are like the wind of a gentleman's virtue. Some are painted as flying dragons or coiling krackens, with wildly placed branches and leaves – but this is not the vital energy or resonance of the pine.¹⁷

子既好寫雲林山水，須明物象之源。夫木之生，為受其性。松之生也，枉而不曲遇，如密如竦，匪青匪翠，從微自直，萌心不低。勢既獨高，枝低復偃，倒掛未墜於地下，分層似疊於林間，如君子之德風也。有畫如飛龍蟠虬，狂生枝葉者，非松之氣韻也。

Thus, Jing Hao describes how a pine tree grows. He then describes the branching of the tree. These aspects constitute the *xiang* of the tree. A painter must comprehend them in order to represent a proper tree. Trees that are drawn to resemble dragons are merely the figment of a painter's imagination. They are fantastic inventions. They do not embody the *xiang* of the tree.

If we keep in mind that the above-cited passages appear in an essay that deals with painting, we must conclude that they explain what should be represented in a painting. For example, the pine tree in the landscape that represents the gentleman's virtue is considered the authentic *xiang*. Yet representing the pine tree as "flying dragons or coiling krackens" in painting is not considered authentic. This contrast demonstrates that Jing Hao recognizes that different species of trees have distinctive shapes. Yet he focuses on the structural model – that is, the *xiang* of the tree – rather than the singular details of its physical manifestation. In one sense, to represent simply means to create something to look like or to resemble the physical aspects of the object. Jing Hao would believe that representation possibly creates an illusion leading the artist and viewer away from the "real things." These "real things," or objects of representation, should be manifestations of the structure of human society and the appearance of the objects that the structure determines. Representation needs to be controlled, especially if it fosters antisocial emotions. In this sense, Jing Hao looked upon pictorial representation with caution and suspicion.

Willard Peterson's opinion on the meaning of *xiang* in *Bifa ji* helps us understand the relation between *xiang* and representation.¹⁸ He claims that we should not think of *xiang* as an image or representation of something. From Peterson's point of view, there are several forms of *xiang*: one is represented in the old man's lecture; one is represented in the encomium written by the painter; one is the image of the pine tree in the landscape; and yet another is the figure of the pine tree in a painting. These *xiang* are not identical. These are all kinds of *xiang*, which is not necessarily the production of pictorial representation.

Jing Hao's use of *xiang* reminds us of its meaning in *Yijing*. In *Xici zhuan* 系辭傳 (Commentary on the attached verbalization), an appendix to *Yijing* where the concept of *xiang* is frequently discussed, there is not any statement that *xiang* means to represent more substantial things. *Xiang* in Heaven is a counterpart of these things on Earth, not a substitute.

In ancient times when Fuxi reigned over the world, looking up he observed images (*xiang*) in Heaven, looking down he observed the standards on Earth. He observed the makings on birds and animals, and how things fit together on

Earth, and took comparisons near at hand in himself and far away in other things. Then he invented the Eight Trigrams, in order to fathom the potency of the daimonic and clear-seeing, in order to arrange the essentials of the myriad things according to their kinds.¹⁹

古者包羲氏之王天下也，仰則觀象於天，俯則觀法於地，觀鳥獸之文，與地之宜，近取諸身，遠取諸物，於是始作八卦，以通神明之德，以類萬物之情。

In Heaven, things become images (*xiang*); on earth, they take shapes (*xing*). Change and transformation are revealed.²⁰

在天成象，在地成形，變化見也。

In these two passages, *xiang*, or image, is differentiated from *xing*, or shape. In the case of Fuxi, putative inventor of the eight trigrams, he saw a connection between the images in Heaven and the models and structures on Earth. Similarly, Jing Hao posits a connection between *xiang* and *xing* – that is, the model of a tree and the particular tree that is perceived in a landscape.

The late eleventh century saw new interest in pictorial representation. One of the most telling features relevant to this issue is that the concept of *xiang* no longer preoccupied art writers.²¹ In *Linquan gaozhi*, *xiang* does not occupy a pivotal position. When the word is used, it denotes a meaning different from that in *Bifa ji*. In the first section of *Linquan gaozhi*, for instance, *xiang* only appears four times: twice as a single word and twice as a character in the following binomial expressions, *jingxiang* 景象 (scenery) and *qixiang* 氣象 (atmosphere, scenery). Each reference to *xiang* appears in a passage that relates Guo Si's description of mountains, water, and trees. *Xiang* is construed to be the total perceivable aspect of a thing. It is the viewer's impression of the external shape of objects.

Clouds and vapors in a real landscape differ through the four seasons. They are genial in spring, profuse in summer, sparse in autumn, and somber in winter. If a painting shows the major aspect (*da xiang*) and does not create overly detailed forms, then the prevailing attitude of clouds and vapors will appear alive. Mists and haze [on mountains] in a real landscape differ through the seasons. Spring mountains are gently seductive and seem to smile. Summer mountains seem moist in their verdant hues. Autumn mountains are bright and clear, arrayed in colorful garments. Winter mountains are withdrawn in melancholy, apparently asleep. If a painting show the major idea without distracting signs of technique, then the atmospheric conditions (*jingxiang*) will seem correct.²²

真山水之雲氣，四時不同：春融怡，夏蓊鬱，秋疎薄，冬黯淡。畫見其大象，而不為斬刻之形，則雲氣之態度活矣。真山水之煙嵐，四時不同：春山澹冶而如笑，夏山蒼翠而如滴，秋山明淨而如粧，冬山慘淡而如睡。畫見其大意，而不為斬刻之跡，則煙嵐之景象正矣。

In this passage, there are two uses of *xiang*. *Da xiang* 大象 (major aspect) refers to the general appearance of clouds and mists in a real landscape from one season to another; the phrase *yanlan zhi jingxiang* 煙嵐之景象 denotes the atmospheric conditions of the landscape. The way that a painter should distinguish the four seasons is through color and mood: in spring, they are *dan ye* 澹冶 (of the color simple but elegant, bright, and beautiful) and laughing; in summer, they are *cangcui* 蒼翠 (verdant) and dripping with water; in autumn, they are *mingjing* 明淨 (bright and clear) and as colorful as though they were adorned with make-up; in winter, they are *candan* 慘淡 (dark and pale) and asleep. In other words, *jingxiang* is delineated through a series of perceivable aspects of the physical world. It indicates that *xiang* in *Linquan gaozhi* denotes that which looks like or resembles other things.

Guo Si's use of *xiang* was not derived from *Yijing* or other similar philosophical writings. The association between the nature and morality was not highlighted in *Linquan gaozhi* as it was in *Bifa ji*. The painter's attempt to capture the authentic nature of objects thus gives way to a painter who scrutinizes the appearances of things. There are no internal or imperceivable aspects of the landscape. Nor is there any kind of higher truth or enlightenment to which the image leads. Guo Si was thus fully engaged with the physical world. This transformation suggests that a philosophical framework no longer mediated between the painter and the landscape; such a context was no longer necessary to lend significance to the act of representation.

The painter's direct engagement with nature marks the beginning of the intimacy between human figures and the landscape. Guo Si looked at human activities in landscape and drew a distinction among various kinds of travel and movement.

It is generally accepted opinion that in landscapes there are those through which you may travel (*xing*), those in which you may gaze from a distance, those through which you may wander (*you*), and those in which you may live (*ju*). Any paintings attaining these effects are to be considered excellent, but those suitable for traveling and gazing from a distance are not as successful in achievement as those suitable for wandering and living. Why is this? If you survey present-day scenery, in a hundred miles of land to be settled, only about one out of three places will be suitable for wandering or living, yet they will certainly be selected as such.²³

世之篤論：謂山水有可行者，有可望者，有可游者，有可居者，畫凡至此，皆入妙品。但可行可望不如可居可游之為得。何者？觀今山川，地占數百里，可游可居之處，十無三四，而必取可游可居之品。

Guo Si preferred landscapes for wandering and living to those for traveling and seeing from afar. For him, human beings live within landscapes. And their activities of *xing* 行 (to travel), *you* 游 (to wander), and *ju* 居 (to live) demonstrate the relationship between human beings and the

landscape. The description of landscape in *Linquan gaozhi* directs readers to be immersed in the natural world.

The closeness between the viewer and the landscape receives further elaboration in Northern Song travel accounts. As travel began to play a crucial part in their lives, Northern Song educated men developed a new way to interact with the landscape. Lingering at many famous sites, these scholars paid attention to human activities at the sites and traces of historical celebrities.²⁴ Many travel accounts discuss the travelers' direct observations of things in nature, rather than appropriating previous writers' ideas on famous tourist attractions. For example, Su Shi's piece on Stone Bells Mountain is an empirical quest to investigate things and rectify names. Many travelers before Su Shi sought to discover the secret of the "stone bells," but Su gave his own explanation.²⁵

I went with Mai alone in a small boat to the foot of the cliff. The huge rock rose slanting up a thousand *chi*, resembling a ferocious beast or a strange demon, terrifying as if it was about to seize one. The perching falcons on the mountaintop were startled by the sound of humans, and their piercing cries—"zhe-zhe"—rang out through the sky. And then there were sounds like an old man yelling and laughing in a canyon... Loud sounds were emitted on the surface of the water, booming "*ceng-hong*" like continuous bells or drums... We slowly approached to investigate (*cha*) and found that at the foot of the mountain were grottoes and fissures in the rock... It was the small waves which entered, surged around, and crashed against each other that were causing this sound. As the boat returned, it passed between two mountains... There was a huge rock standing in the middle of the current, which could accommodate a hundred people seated. It was hollow inside, and it also had many holes in it. It swallowed and spit out the wind and water, giving off ringing sounds—"kuan-kan-tang-ta"—as the water struck it. It seemed to reply to the booming sound we had previously heard, just like a musical performance. I laughed and said to Mai, "... The booming sound is the bell Wuyi of King Jing of the Chou dynasty, and the ringing sounds are the Singing Bells of Wei Zhuangzi. The ancients have not deceived me!"²⁶

獨與邁乘小舟，至絕壁下。大石側立千尺，如猛獸奇鬼，森然欲搏人；而山上棲鶻，聞人聲亦驚起，磔磔雲霄間；又有若老人咳且笑于山穀中者……大聲發於水上，噌吰如鐘鼓不絕……徐而察之，則山下皆石穴罅……微波入焉，涵淡澎湃而為此也。舟回至兩山間……有大石當中流，可坐百人，空中而多竅，與風水相吞吐，有窾坎鏗鞳之聲，與向之噌吰者相應，如樂作焉。因笑謂邁曰：“……噌吰者，周景王之無射也；窾坎鏗鞳者，魏莊子之歌鐘也。古之人不余欺也！”

Right after this passage, Su Shi concluded that from his own experience on Stone Bells Mountain, he believed it was unacceptable for someone who had not personally seen or heard something to decide whether others' views on an issue were true or not. James Hargett notes that Su Shi organized this essay in a way that would have had a persuasive effect on his readers. Despite its

strong admonitory tone, Su Shi's enumeration of physical details "collectively evokes a strikingly visual and eerie scene."²⁷ Su's persuasive reasoning was first manifested in his doubt of previous travelers. His contemplation came directly from his activities in the landscape. In this account, the meaning of *cha* 察 (investigate) indicates that the traveler was active in discovering nature's wonders. He did not distance himself from the landscape. For Su Shi, nature is a source of knowledge. Su Shi's appreciation of the natural world took precedence over pure metaphysical thinking. His task was not only to enjoy, but also to probe nature's workings.

This shift in Northern Song travel accounts provides a historical background for Guo Si's attitude toward the representation of landscape. Guo Si, like contemporary elite travelers, regarded landscape as the object of investigation. He did so not in a philosophical sense, but in a pictorial sense. Guo Si's strategy was to show how *yinyang* pattern manifested in the landscape. Derived from *Yijing*, *yinyang* was one of the stages in the origination of the universe. Many natural dualities are thought of as physical manifestations of the *yinyang* concept, such as male and female, dark and light, and high and low. To be sure, the philosophical significance of *yinyang* did not completely disappear from *Linquan gaozhi*. Nevertheless, the application of *yinyang* concept in *Linquan gaozhi* lost the original meaning it held in *Yijing*. The following is Guo Si's description of mountains that shows how he perceived the *yinyang* pattern in a landscape:

A great mountain is dominating as chief over the assembled hills, thereby ranking in an ordered arrangement the ridges and peaks, forests and valleys as suzerains of varying degrees and distances. The general appearance (*xian*) is of a great lord glorious on his throne and a hundred princes hastening to pay him court, without any effect of arrogance or withdrawal [on either part]. A tall pine stands erect as the mark of all other trees, thereby ranking in an ordered arrangement the subsidiary trees and plants as numerous admiring assistants. The general effect is of a nobleman dazzling in his prime with all lesser mortals in his service, without insolent or oppressed attitudes [on either part].²⁸

大山堂堂為眾山之主，其象若大君赫然當陽，而百辟奔走朝會，無偃蹇背卻之勢也。長松亭亭為眾木之表，所以分佈以次藤蘿草木，為振契依附之師帥也。其勢若君子軒然得時而眾小人為之役使，無憑陵愁挫之態也。

Some scholars have proposed that there is a hierarchical relationship between the great mountain as chief and the assembled hills as ministers, between the tall pine and other subsidiary trees.²⁹ Their arguments are based upon the assumption that objects described in this passage are purely physical entities and that each object can be separated from its pair. However, the great mountain complements the assembled hills, just as the tall pine complements the lower trees. In both cases,

each pair represents a binary opposition. Their opposition conforms to the *yinyang* pattern. Guo Si took *yinyang* as the basic fabric of Heaven-and-Earth.

The *yinyang* pattern was a new mode of representation of the landscape. It aligned with different uses of *Yijing* over the course of the Northern Song period. Although some *Yijing* scholars concentrated on numbers, others revived an interest in *yinyang*. For instance, Peter Bol argues that, for Su Shi, the relation between *dao* 道 (way) and the actual things and affairs of this mutable world can be understood as a "one and many" problem. Su Shi used *yin* and *yang* to indicate that the unity of the one is lost when the multiplicity of the many begins.³⁰ His comments on a passage in *Xici zhuan* reads:

What kinds of thing are *yin* and *yang* in fact? Even those with the aural and visual acuity of [Li] Lou and [Shih] Kuang have never yet apprehended their semblance. When *yin* and *yang* interact, thereupon they bring things into being. When things come into being, thereupon there are images (*xiang*). When the images are established, *yin* and *yang* are hidden. All that can be seen are things, not *yin* and *yang*. But can one say that *yin* and *yang* are without existence? The most stupid know this is not so. How could things bring themselves into being? This is why one who, pointing to bringing things into being, calls it *yin* and *yang*, and one who, not seeing their semblance, says they have never existed are both confused.³¹

陰陽果何物哉？雖有婁、曠之聰明，未有得其仿佛者也。陰陽交，然後生物；物生，然後有象；象立而陰陽隱矣，凡可見者皆物也，非陰陽也。然謂陰陽為無有可乎？雖至愚知其不然也，然何自生哉？是故指生物而謂之陰陽，與不見陰陽之仿佛而謂之無有者，皆惑也。

Another example comes from Shao Yong 邵雍 (1011-1077). Kidder Smith and Don Wyatt propose that Shao Yong used the term *xiang* to indicate the structure through which the multiplicity of heaven, earth, and the ten-thousand things emerges. From Shao Yong's perspective, the interaction between *yin* and *yang* is an important process in this structure and results in myriad of things.³²

Yang is born at the beginning of movement. *Yin* is born at the peak of movement. A *yin* and a *yang* interact and the functioning of heaven is fully expressed in them... What is great in movement is called the major *yang*. What is small in movement is called the minor *yang*. What is great in stillness is called the major *yin*. What is small in stillness is called the minor *yin*. The major *yang* is the sun. The major *yin* is the moon. The minor *yang* is the stars. The minor *yin* is the zodiacal spaces. Sun, moon, stars, and zodiac interact, and the substance of heaven is fully expressed in them.³³

動之始則陽生焉，動之極則陰生焉。一陰一陽交，而天之用盡之矣……動之大者謂之太陽，動之小者謂之少陽，靜之大者謂之太陰，靜之小者謂之

少陰。太陽為日，太陰為月，少陽為星，少陰為辰。日月星辰交，而天之體盡之矣。

Shao Yong dealt with the framework in which myriad things emerged from movement and stillness. *Yin* and *yang*, together with their variations, all belong within this framework. Things come into being through the category and sub-categories of *yin* and *yang*. In the above two texts, the *yinyang* pattern is the fundamental way that late Northern Song scholars sought to represent the origins of Heaven-and-Earth. Su Shi's and Shao Yong's discussions of *yinyang* are philosophical, but Guo Si's use of this concept is not. I will return to this point later.

Another use of *yinyang* prior to Northern Song times appears in theories of geomancy, which are themselves related to the *Yijing* tradition. For example, in *Zang shu* 葬書 (Book of burial), a geomantic book dating from the Jin Dynasty (265-420) and still circulated in Northern Song times, places for burial were chosen in accord with principles of bipolar opposition:

Among the numerous low hills, mounds, and ridges, we should select the special ones. The sages belong to the category of people; the *qilin* belongs to the category of beasts; the phoenix belongs to the category of flying. Among the numerous low hills that come out and groups of mounds that resemble heads, we should select those hills whose hair bone, spirit, and energy force are peculiar and beautiful, and different from others. Among the large, select the small; among the small, select the large. Among the numerous small mountains, select the large; among the numerous large mountains, select the small. If the large mountains and small mountains mix together, and the lord and the guest have the same quality, these places are not proper for burial. That the large mountains and small mountains mix together means the true does not differ from the false. That the lord and the guest have the same quality means we cannot distinguish you from me.³⁴

夫重岡疊阜，群壠眾支，當擇其特。聖人之於民類，麒麟之於走獸，鳳凰之於飛鳥，亦類也。重岡并出，群阜攢頭，須擇其毛骨奇秀、神氣俊雅之異於眾者為正也。大則特小，小則特大。眾山俱小，取其大；眾山俱大，取其小。參形雜勢，主客同情，所不葬也。參形雜勢，言真偽之不分；主客同情，言汝我之莫辨。

The interconnectedness between the two kinds of mountains is shown in the large/lord mountains and small/guest mountains opposition, which is a manifestation of the *yinyang* pattern.

Throughout Chinese history, the paired concepts in this passage frequently appear in geomancy.

In *Hanlong jing* 撼龍經 (Classic of shaking dragon), Yang Yunsong 楊筠松 (834-900), a geomancer and official in Tang court, employed a similar pair of words: *chaoshan* 朝山 (mountains shaped like people who pay respect to a sovereign) and *anshan* 案山 (mountains shaped like tables) to identify the relationship between mountains.³⁵

Geomantic terms do not seem to be used in art writings prior to the Northern Song period. However, there is sufficient evidence in *Linquan gaozhi* to suggest that Guo Si did employ the vocabulary of geomancy to describe landscape.³⁶

There are high mountains and low mountains. The arteries (*xuemai*) of the high mountain run low. Its limbs spread wide (*kaizhang*) and its base is powerful and solid. Ridge lines of rounded crests or creviced peaks crowd together and interweave in unbroken gleaming links. Such is a high mountain. Thus, this type of mountain is called well supported and unified. The arteries of a low mountain run high. Its head [summit] comes halfway down, merging straight into its neck. The base is broad spread, and earthen mounds erupt in profusion. It extends deep down into the earth, none can measure how far. Such is a low mountain. Thus, this type of mountain is called substantial and coherent. If a high mountain is isolated, it is because its body is not unified. If a low mountain is slight, it is because its aspects do not cohere. Such are the configurations of mountain and water.³⁷

山有高，有下：高者血脈在下，其肩股開張，基腳壯厚，巒岫岡勢，培擁相勾連，映帶不絕，此高山也。故如是高山，謂之不孤，謂之不什。下者血脈在上，其顛半落，項領相攀，根基龐大，直下深插，莫測其淺深，此淺山也。故如是淺山，謂之不薄，謂之不泄。高山而孤，題幹有什之理；淺山而薄，神氣有泄之理。此山水之體裁也。

The contrast between the high mountains and low mountains has much in common with the geomantic representation of landscape, and thus relates to the *yinyang* pattern. All mountains are included in one sequential range, which was called *xuemai* 血脈 (arteries). This is a geomantic term, which, in turn, is associated with physiological theory. *Longmai* 龍脈 (dragon arteries), a similar term, denotes the rising and falling of a mountain range. Both terms indicate the form of landscape and animate its physical structure.

Quoting various uses of *yinyang* in the Northern Song times, I want to show that like Su Shi and Shao Yong, Guo Si took *yinyang* as one of the most fundamental stages of existence. Yet Guo Si and these *Yijing* philosophers applied them in different ways. The philosophers applied the *yinyang* pattern as a principle that was highly theorized and could not be simply expressed in tangible forms. By contrast, Guo Si adopted the *yinyang* pattern that preoccupied geomancers and directed us to see the visible aspects of this pattern. This sheds light on Guo Si's approach to landscape. If we understand that Guo Si was conscious of the language he used to construct his texts, then we would find that he adjusted geomantic terms that reflected the *yinyang* pattern to make his description of mountains intensely pictorial. For instance, we can identify the word *xuemai* in the aforementioned passage with specific contours and rhythmically curving folds of mountains. No matter how we think of this term, it is intended to give movement and structure to

the landscape.³⁸ The contrast between the high arteries of the high mountains and the low arteries of the low mountains visualizes the *yinyang* pattern.

In *Linquan gaozhi*, the description of the transformation of the brilliant and dark moments in a mountain is a perfect expression of a *yinyang* pattern as well.

A mountain that is not brilliant or dark is called without the shadow of the sunlight. A mountain that is not hidden or totally visible is called without mist and cloud. Today's mountain: where there is the sunlight, it is brilliant. Where there is not sunlight, it is dark. The forms of the mountain vary from the shadow of the sunlight. Therefore, if brilliance is not distinguished from darkness, it is called without the shadow of the sunlight. Today's mountain: where there are mist and cloud, the mountain is hidden. Where there are no mist and cloud, the mountain is visible. The appearances of the mountain vary from the mist and cloud. Therefore, if the hidden is not distinguished from the visible, it is called without the mist and cloud.³⁹

山無明晦則謂之無日影，山無隱見則謂之無煙靄。今山：日到處明，日不到處晦，山因日影之常形也。明晦不分焉，故曰無日影。今山：煙靄到處隱，煙靄不到處見，山因煙靄之常態也。隱見不分焉，故曰無煙靄。

The form of the mountain is able to change back and forth between the sunlight and the mist and cloud. The pattern that Guo Si sees is inherent in the landscape. The visible and hidden moments exist in the mountain as a permanent and characteristic attribute. These visually bipolar moments form the body of mountains. The *yinyang* pattern presented by words makes the landscape more appealing and animated to readers.

Several late Northern Song paintings are good examples of the *yinyang* pattern that persisted in pictorial compositions slightly before or after Guo Si wrote his treatise. Guo Xi's *Early Spring*, a painting dating from 1072, is helpful to give us some sense about the shape of landscape in *Linquan gaozhi* (fig. 1). In drawing the trees on the mountains, Guo Xi alternated between dark and light ink tones. The outlines of the trees were made in dark ink strokes. Guo Xi traced the forms of some trees repeatedly with ink wash. When the outlines of trees in the near scene remain visible, those in the distance are barely perceivable (fig. 2). By using visible trees to complement invisible ones, Guo Xi effectively suggested that the trees appeared as if they emerged from the mist. The contrast between the visible and the invisible is a physical manifestation of the *yinyang* pattern. Another manifestation is the opposition between the valley on the left of the painting, which fades into the distance, and the gorge on the right, which slopes towards the viewer. A third manifestation is the contrast between the movement of the serpentine mountains that climbs upward among the mist and the motionlessness of the mountain peaks on high. These contrasts help highlight the bipolar oppositions in the painting. The *yinyang* pattern

represented by the brush and ink on the silk is compatible with the way in which Guo Si saw and described the appearance of the landscape.

Moreover, artists did not only create the *yinyang* pattern in their own paintings, they also endeavored to apply the pattern to ancient paintings that they reproduced. *Court Ladies Preparing Newly Woven Silk* is a copy of Zhang Xuan's 張萱 (act. ca. 713-755) painting attributed to Emperor Huizong 徽宗 (1082-1135) (fig. 4). Zhang Xuan's original work does not survive today. Yet several aspects of the Northern Song copy display a pictorial pattern that could not be seen in previous eras. The copy begins with four women pounding silk with pestles. The gestures of the women and the positions of the pestles are in opposition. In the middle part of the painting, the woman facing towards us is again the opposite of the one with her back toward the viewer. The left part of the painting repeats this pattern. The woman who irons the silk recedes backwards into the picture plane. We can imagine that the figures in this copy might find their counterparts in the original painting, and yet the strictly performed patterns are more likely to echo those that pervaded late Northern Song paintings as well as *Linquan gaozhi*.

The pivotal function of *xiang* in *Bifa ji* contrasts with the focus on the *yinyang* pattern in *Linquan gaozhi*. Jing Hao's use of the word *xiang* suggests a philosophical conception of the landscape, which prefers analysis and classification to pictorial representation. Guo Si abandoned the philosophical implications of *xiang*, developing different uses of the word. He adopted the *yinyang* polarity and employed it instead as a way to see the landscape. The shifting attention to the object of representation thus enables the reader to reconsider the significance of painting.

CHAPTER 2

From Representation to Perception: Ways of Seeing the Landscape

Guo Si used a large number of verbs with regard to "seeing" in *Linquan gaozhi*. Thus, he emphasized the importance of looking in any effort to represent landscape. Verbs of perception almost never appear in *Bifa ji*. This contrast shows different ways of "seizing" nature: one is by the perception of the physical world; the other is by the representation of the inner nature of the landscape. In *Linquan gaozhi*, Guo Si was not much concerned with heavenly principles. Instead, his text offers us a visual construct of nature.

In *Bifa ji*, Jing Hao uses only two words to refer to a painter's perception of the landscape. For Jing Hao, the inner nature of objects is more important than their external appearance. That inner nature is always there, regardless of the painter's perceptual impression of the object. Therefore, it is not as crucial for the painter to see the landscape as it is for him to know its inner nature. In one passage in *Bifa ji*, Jing Hao describes how the painter looks at and appreciates a tree before he paints it:

One day I ascended Spirit Bell Mountain to gaze (*wang*) about, and tracing my way back. I entered a grand portal of cliffs. Moss-grown trails watered with dew, strange-shaped rocks wreathed in auspicious mists - I quickly entered into the place, which was filled with ancient pines. In the center was a lone tree, arm-spans around, its skin old and grizzled with lichen, its flying scales mounting the void with coiling kracken force, about to plunge into the Cloudy Han... Consequently I was taken back by their unusualness, and I made a circuit to enjoy them (*bian er shang zhi*). The next day I took my brush and went back to sketch them. I had to do thousands of trees before any of them looked like an authentic representation.⁴⁰

有日登神鉦山四望，迴跡入大巖扉。苔徑露水，怪石祥煙，疾進其處，皆古松也。中獨圍大者，皮老蒼蘚，翔鱗乘空，蟠虬之勢，欲附雲漢……因驚其異，遍而賞之。明日攜筆復寫之，凡數萬本，方如[知]其真。

The painter gazes at the tree from afar; he walks around the tree to appreciate it from all angles. Through observation and practice, the painter succeeds in making an image that resembles the tree. However, the old man later tells the painter that he was simply overwhelmed by his perception of the tree. The old man claims that the painter does not see the authentic nature of the pine.

After receiving the old man's moral instruction on painting, the painter feels it necessary to refine his painting through an understanding of the nature of things. Because the inner ground

is fundamental to an object and therefore impossible to alter, the painter is compelled to adopt a new approach to painting. This is explained in "Encomium for the Ancient Pine," part of which reads:

Raise the eyes up (*yang*) along its soaring trunk [rising above all others],
Supporting thousands of canopied limbs,
Soaring and majestic in the middle of the brook –
A jade-green luminescence covered by mist.
Strange branches hang downward,
Restless, shifting, adaptive.
When it joins ordinary trees below,
"It brings them to harmony but does not accommodate itself to them."
This is why it was valued and written of in poems –
It possessed the moral air of the Superior Man.⁴¹

仰其擢幹，偃舉千重。巍巍溪中，翠暈煙籠。奇枝倒掛，徘徊變通。下
接凡木，和而不同。以貴詩賦，君子之風。

Even at this point in the text, Jing Hao uses the verb *yang* 仰 (to face upward) to describe how the painter experiences the tree he will represent. Nonetheless, what the painter "sees" is the soaring pine, which is presented as a moral paradigm. The tree that the painter "sees" accords with the old man's ethical instruction. It transcends mere visual perception. The old man instructs the painter in an approach to landscape that goes beyond the painter's initial visual reaction to it. It permits him to recognize an object without seeing it. In other words, the old man's instruction is valued more than observation and practice; in painting, the transmission of knowledge between people is more important than empirical observation. The encomium, which recapitulates the old man's instructions, replaces the visual perception of the landscape.

In *Linquan gaozhi*, we have a completely different approach to knowing the landscape. Guo Si began his text by describing ways of viewing the landscape:

There is also a proper way to look (*kan*) at landscape. Look with a heart in tune with forest and stream, then you will value them highly. Approach with the eyes of arrogance and extravagance, then you will value them but little. Landscapes are vast things. You should look (*guan*) at them from a distance. Only then will you see (*jian*) on one screen the sweep and atmosphere of mountain and water. Figure paintings of gentlemen and ladies done on a miniature scale, if held in the hand or put on the table, may be taken in at one glance (*jian*; *lan*) as soon as they are opened. These are methods of looking at paintings.⁴²

看山水亦有體：以林泉之心臨之則價高，以驕侈之心臨之則價低。山水大物也，人之看者須遠而觀之，方見得一障山川之形勢氣象。若士女人物，小小之筆，即掌中几上，一展便見，一覽便盡。此看畫之法也。

In this passage, Guo Si suggests that a landscape is "approached" (*lin* 臨) by the heart-mind of the viewer. This attitude was common among scholar-officials of the late Northern Song. And yet he also suggests that the landscape makes an impression on the viewer through his or her eyes: the features of the landscape may be "seen" (*kan* 看), "observed" (*guan* 觀), "perceived" (*jian* 見), "surveyed" (*lan* 覽). What truly deserves attention is Guo Si's emphasis on various acts of looking or seeing.

Guo Si's focus on sight is exemplified in his attention to light and shadow in *Linquan gaozhi*, short and fragmentary though his comments are. In the following passage, for example, he urges that a viewer be aware that under different light conditions, a mountain will acquire distinctive appearances:

A mountain in the morning has a different appearance from in the evening.
Bright and dull days give further mutations. This is called "the changing aspects
of different times are not same."⁴³

山朝看如此，暮看又如此，陰晴看又如此，所謂朝暮之變態不同也，所謂
朝暮之變態不同也。

Guo Si is clearly engaged in the shaded and lit aspects of a mountain. Nonetheless, it must be admitted that light and shadow are a part of the essential *yinyang* structure of the landscape.

Shade and light in a real landscape can be comprehended if seen from a distance. From nearby your grasp will be narrowed and you will not obtain a picture of what is hidden and what revealed by light and dark.⁴⁴

真山水之陰晴，遠望可盡，而近者拘狹不能得明晦隱見之跡。

To comprehend fully the effect of light and shadow in a mountain, Guo recommends that a viewer step back and look at the landscape from a distance.

No previous art writers studied light and shadow in relation to painting. However, miscellaneous records about *yingxi* 影戲 (shadow play) in the twelfth and thirteenth century give us some insight about a new interest in the effect of lighting. Joseph Needham regards the shadow play as a manifestation of ancient Chinese study about optics.⁴⁵ Held between a translucent screen and a source of light, the shadow puppets create the impression of moving humans and other objects. The figures are not entirely shadows as they are more of silhouette shadows, which give the casted images some color. Various effects can be achieved by moving both the puppets and the light source. These techniques reveal the role of the light in creating the image and give a sense of "moving pictures." Shadow theatre became popular in Northern Song times; the shadow puppets were common household entertainments. The shadow play provided Song people with perceptual knowledge about the changing image in relation to light and shadow, and Guo Si's

description of the mountain in the sunlight or the mist and cloud can be related to this new popular activity.

Guo Si's idea of seeing the landscape in light and shadow is directly relevant to many Northern Song travel accounts. These writings are certainly not merely about the visual concentration on light. Nonetheless, they all mention a new, focused way of looking at things in light, and thereby remind the reader of the extraordinary, and yet often ignored, power of observing the landscape. For example, Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072) noted a scene in the mountains:

When the sun appears, the mist disperses through the forest; when clouds return to the mountains, the caves in the cliff darken. These transformations from brightness to darkness - such is dawn and dusk on the mountain.⁴⁶

若夫日出而林霏開，云歸而岩穴暝，晦明變化者，山間之朝暮也。

Another example comes from Su Shi who recorded what he saw while taking a night stroll with his friend:

On the evening of the twelfth day of the tenth month of the sixth year of the Yuanfeng era, I had already taken off my clothes and was about to fall asleep when the moonlight came through the doorway. I happily arose and walked outside. I realized that there was no one else there to enjoy this with, so I went to the Temple that Receives the Heavenly to find Zhang Huaimin. Huaimin had not yet retired, so we went together into the central courtyard. The ground resembled a body of water illuminated by the moonlight. The intertwining "aquatic grasses" were just the shadows of the bamboo and junipers.⁴⁷

元豐六年十月十二日夜，解衣欲睡，月色入戶，欣然起行。念無與為樂者，遂至承天寺尋張懷民。懷民亦未寢，相與步于中庭。庭下如積水空明，水中藻荇交橫，蓋竹柏影也。

In Ouyang Xiu's text, dawn and dusk are times of division and ambiguity. At dawn, when the day is just beginning, the sun is rising; at dusk, when the night has not quite fallen, we see very little light, only clouds returning to the mountains. Ouyang Xiu was fascinated with the play of shadow and light. In both moments, boundaries begin to break down, and even the slightest mutations of objects that result from the bright and dull days can attract a viewer's eyes. By contrast, Su Shi describes a peculiar scene at night: a moonlit courtyard seems to be filled with limpid water; the shadows of bamboo and junipers become "aquatic grasses." These similes are animated by light and shadow. A reader is compelled to read and re-read the text to understand what Su described. The two passages represent a moment when, at a time of increased interest in empirical observation, Ouyang and Su focused his eyes on the smallest changes in nature. Therefore, at this

historical period, it is unsurprising that the landscape described in *Linquan gaozhi* becomes more important as an object of perception and exhibits subtle changes in light.

Further, Guo Si's description of three types of distance is another manifestation of his focus on perception:

Mountains have three types of distance. Looking up to the mountain's peak from its foot is called the high distance. From in front of the mountain looking past it to beyond is called deep distance. Looking from a nearby mountain at those more distant is called the level distance. High distance appears clear and bright; deep distance becomes steadily more obscure; level distance combines both qualities. The appearance of high distance is of lofty grandness. The idea of deep distance is of repeated layering. The idea of level distance is of spreading forth to merge into mistiness and indistinctness.⁴⁸

山有三遠：自山下而仰山巔謂之高遠，自山前而窺山后謂之深遠，自近山而望遠山謂之平遠。高遠之色清明，深遠之色重晦，平遠之色有明有晦。高遠之勢突兀，深遠之意重疊，平遠之意沖融而縹緲紛紛。

From Guo Si's point of view, landscape is not seen from a single, stable perspective. In his text, a viewer changes his or her positions and visual angles. Thus, he or she ends up seeing various views of the same landscape. Hence, Guo repeatedly differentiated the distant view from the close view:

To discover the overall layout of rivers and valleys in a real landscape, you look at them from a distance. To discover their individual characteristics, you look at them from nearby... Wind and rain in a real landscape can be grasped when seen from a distance. Near to, you may be fascinated by the motion but will be unable to examine the overall pattern in the confused flow.⁴⁹

遠望之以取其勢，近看之以取其質……真山水之風雨，遠望可得，而近者玩習不能究錯綜起止之勢。

Guo Si did not believe a painter presented only one view of the landscape. The text suggests that there is a moving body in relation to the landscape. To obtain different views, a viewer constantly goes toward and then away from the landscape. The aforementioned passage indicates Guo Si's interest in seeing how a large world can be illustrated in the form of a small world on silk. This is consistent with many Northern Song artists' endeavors to paint landscapes as a microcosm. Guo Si wrote,

A mountain nearby has one aspect. Several miles away it has another aspect, and some tens of miles away yet another. Each distance has its particularity. This is called "the form of the mountain changing with each step." The front face of a mountain has one appearance. The side face has another appearance, and the rear face yet another. Each angle has its particularity. This is called "the form of a mountain viewed on every face." Thus can one mountain combine in itself the forms of several thousand mountains. Should you not

explore this? Mountains look different in the spring and summer, the autumn and winter. This is called "the scenery of the four seasons is not the same." A mountain in the morning has a different appearance from in the evening. Bright and dull days give further mutations. This is called "the changing aspects of different times are not same." Thus can one mountain combine in itself the significant aspects of several thousand mountains. Should you not investigate this?⁵⁰

山近看如此，遠數里看又如此，遠十數里看又如此，每遠每異，所謂山形步步移也。山正面看如此，側面又如此，背面又如此，每看每異，所謂山形面面看也。如此是一山而兼數十百山之形狀，可不悉乎？山春夏看如此，秋冬看又如此，所謂四時之景不同也。山朝看如此，暮看又如此，陰晴看又如此，所謂陰晴之變態不同也。如此是一山而兼數百山之意態，可不究乎？

According to this passage, the viewer moves his body in front of the mountain both spatially and temporally so that he sees diverse views. Because Guo Si saw the landscape represented in text and in painting as a microcosm of the larger landscape in nature, all views from various vantage points were required.

The diverse views can be understood in relation to Su Shi's description of the appearance of mountains. In three separate poems, Su Shi used a similar line with variations:

The blue mountains have long been falling and rising with the boat.⁵¹

青山久與船低昂。

My waterborne pillow makes the mountains rise and fall.⁵²

水枕能令山俯仰。

The lonely mountain has long been falling and rising with the boat.⁵³

孤山久與船低昂。

According to Ronald Egan, Su Shi was equally intrigued by the larger thought that all perceptions were subjective and that therefore nothing has a single appearance.⁵⁴ Even something as seemingly fixed and unchanging as a mountain constantly alters its look. Here the poet was presumably referring to his own movement through the landscape. This way of looking clearly has much in common with Guo Si's description of the eye's perception of earthly phenomena.

Like Guo Si, Shen Kuo 沈括 (1031-1095), a polymath, scientist, and statesman, explored the different views that painters presented in *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談 (Jottings from Mengxi). The book was written between 1089 and 1093. Among other things, it records the author's observation

of natural phenomena and contemporary paintings. Regarding on Li Cheng 李成 (919-967) and Dong Yuan 董源 (?-ca. 962), Shen wrote:

When painting pavilions and towers on the mountain, Li Cheng always presented the flying eaves in a bottom-up view. He claimed that with the bottom-up perspective, the viewer see the towers and eaves in the painting in the same way as he stands on the ground to see the tower on high and only sees its rafters. This statement is not true. Generally speaking, the method of [seeing] the landscape is seeing the small with a broad perspective. If using the method of seeing the real mountain from the bottom, one would only see one view of the mountain. How would one see all the possible views of the mountain, to say nothing of objects in the brooks and valleys? If using the same method to see the houses, one would never see the objects in the central courtyard or rear lane. If one stands in the east, then the west of the mountain is the distant view; if one stands in the west, then the east of the mountain is the distant view. How can views as such be painted? Li Cheng did not know the method of seeing the small with a broad perspective. This method encompasses high and distant views and has its own subtle reason. Its reason does not lie in the image of flying eaves.⁵⁵

李成畫山上亭館及樓塔之類，皆仰畫飛簷，其說以謂自下望上，如人平地望塔簷間，見其榱桷。此論非也。大都山水之法，蓋以大觀小，如人觀假山耳。若同真山之法，以下望上，只合見一重山，豈可重重悉見，兼不應見其溪穀間事。又如屋舍，亦不應見其中庭及后巷中事。若人在東立，則山西便合是遠境；人在西立，則山東卻合是遠境。似此如何成畫？李君蓋不知以大觀小之法，其間折高、折遠，自有妙理，豈在掀屋角也。

In the Jiangnan area during the time of the Southern Tang's second ruler, there was a Director of the Northern Park, Dong Yuan, who excelled in painting and was especially skilled in distant views with autumnal mists. He mainly depicted the real mountains of Jiangnan and did not make brush-drawings of extraordinary heights. After him, the monk Juran of Jianye followed Yuan's method and fathomed marvelous principles. Generally the brushwork of Yuan and Juran should be viewed at a distance. Their use of the brush is very cursory and, if seen from nearby, they may not seem to resemble the appearance of things; but if viewed from afar, scenes and objects are clear, and deep feelings and distant thoughts [arise], as if one were gazing on another world. In the case of Yuan's painting of a sunset, it has no merit when seen from nearby; but, if viewed from afar, there is a village half-obsured in the deep distance. In details it is an evening scene, with the summits of remote peaks having just a trace of a reflected color. These are its marvelous points.⁵⁶

江南中主時，有北苑使董源善畫，尤工秋嵐遠景，多寫江南真山，不為奇峭之筆。其後建業僧巨然，祖述源法，皆臻妙理。大體源及巨然畫筆，皆宜遠觀。其用筆甚草草，近視之，幾不類物象；遠觀則景物粲然，幽情遠思，如睹異境。如源畫《落照圖》，近視無功；遠觀村落杳然深遠，悉是晚景；遠峯之頂，宛有反照之色。此妙處也。

In these two passages, Shen Kuo looked at how Li Cheng and Dong Yuan presented views in landscape painting. In Li Cheng's case, Shen Kuo noticed that the artist could present several views at once in a painting. Looking at mountains in nature, the viewer cannot see two views simultaneously, but he can see them in paintings. In Dong Yuan's case, Shen Kuo noticed the difference between a close view and a distant view of a painting. Shen Kuo's exploration of different perspectives of landscape and landscape painting corresponds with Guo Si's fascination with the various distances that an artist creates in painting.

Guo Xi's *Early Spring* shows how Northern Song court artists manipulated multiple views in an image. In this painting, large landforms and pine trees in the foreground present a close view to the viewer (fig. 3). Following a break with the mist, the slope climbs up and continues into the winding central mountain in the background. Streams and waterfalls are on one side of the mountain. Their diagonal paths create illusions of depth. At the bottom of the painting, Guo Xi depicted human activities. The tiny figures that are barely visible suggest that the painter looked at things at a distance. The expansive horizontal vista of a valley to the left creates a level-distant view. All these views appear at once in a single painted landscape.

In *Bifa ji*, Jing Hao underestimated the value of seeing in the process of making a landscape painting. By contrast, visual perception becomes much more important in *Linquan gaozhi*. Like contemporary travel essayists and poets, Guo Si attempted to draw his reader's attention to the visual perception of the landscape. This represents a radical shift in the value attached to empirical observation.

CHAPTER 3

The Means of Representation: The Craft of Painting

The way Guo Si described the craft of painting in *Linquan gaozhi* differs from the way Jing Hao described it in *Bifa ji*. Jing discussed painterly technique in the context of a fable, which contains a scene of instruction. By contrast, in *Linquan gaozhi*, Guo Si recounted how his father Guo Xi constructed images of landscape, describing his techniques in detail. In this section, I explore these differences to explain why painterly technique comes to the fore in art writing from the late eleventh century.

At least since the Tang period, the technical aspects of painting and calligraphy had been disparaged as mere skills acquired by artisans who did not require the education expected of elite men. Therefore, Jing Hao was highly motivated to disguise his discussion of painterly technique. He couched his discussion in a supernatural tale. Further, since the fictional tale contained a moral lesson, the reader might interpret the discussion of painterly technique in *Bifa ji* as a part of Jing Hao's approach to the moral wisdom embodied in painting. Technique was a means to a higher end. After all, the discussion of techniques is initiated by the mysterious old man who is identified with divine transcendents, as I have already noted. This potentially made the discussion of technique acceptable to Jing Hao's contemporaries. Jing Hao's attention to painterly technique becomes the focus of attention of a divine being who appears in a fiction. Coming from a mysterious, possibly divine being, the instructions are presented as potent magical techniques of representation. They are not simply the mundane ways by which ordinary men handled a brush. The technique of painting is a part of the fiction, rather than an exposition that might stand on its own.

Jing Hao's concern about the legitimacy of inserting technical issues in his art writing is revealed in the way he talks about them. He valued technique less than other aspects of painting:

As for the essentials of sketching and painting, I will explain them to you in detail. Vital energy – one's heartmind follows it and the brush moves in accord with it, seizing the image without confusion. Resonance – one must conceal any traces [of the artist's brush] yet establish the shape [of the object], and completely fulfill the formal elements without slipping into common vulgarity. Thought – pare down to and appropriate the essential gist; concentrate your imaginative thinking to give shape to the object. Scene – give proper sequence to the movement of the seasons, seek out the subtle to create the authentic. Brush – although you rely on rules and regulations, let it move, turn, change, and penetrate. Stick to neither essence nor shape, let it fly, let it move. Ink – high, low, thick or thin, evaluate the depth of each object. Let the pattern and shading be completely natural as though it had not come from the pen.⁵⁷

圖畫之要，與子備言。氣者，心隨筆運，取象不惑。韻者，隱跡立形，備儀不俗。思者刪發大要，凝想形物。景者，制度時因，搜妙創真。筆者雖依法則，運轉變通，不質不形，如飛如動。墨者高低暈淡，品物淺深，文彩自然，似非因筆。

Judging from this passage, I want to suggest that even though Jing Hao ventured to explore painterly techniques, he wrote about them as a means to underscore more important, non-technical aspects of painting. In this case, the painter's mind follows the *qi* that pervades the universe and thereby moves his brush; he shapes things by responding to them, rather than by fixing a painted resemblance. The means by which the image of the pine is realized — that is, brush and ink — are left to the end of this passage. Further, with regard to the handling of the brush, Jing Hao emphasizes that "rules and regulations" should not limit the movement of the brush, which is described with the words that other critics used to describe the movements of a calligrapher's brush. With regard to ink, Jing Hao acknowledged that varying tonalities of ink can be manipulated to construct illusions of depth and volume. But he advised that the technique by which the illusion was achieved should be hidden. The desired effect is one in which the image does not seem to have been made by a brush.

In another passage from *Bifa ji*, Jing Hao established four classes of painting.

Spirit (*shen*), subtlety (*miao*), originality (*qi*), cleverness (*qiao*). Spirit – all marks of activity [on the part of the artist] disappear and images take shape spontaneously from the nimble movement of the brush. Subtlety – one's thought traverses heaven and earth, provides categories of affinity in ten thousand different ways for all of the nature and character [of things therein], so that outward design and inner structural pattern accords with [the objects'] demeanor. Thus "the multiple things flow" from the pen. Originality – traces of an untrammelled [brush] are unanticipated, perhaps contrary or different from the authentic scene, or pursuing the principle of a thing only in a one-sided manner. Works attained through this may be called "full of the brush but without thought." Cleverness – to whittle or stitch together little seductions and falsely bring them on par with affairs of major importance. One forces the sketching of sections of outward design and makes the vital energy and image ever more vague. This is called "a paucity of fruit and plethora of flowers."⁵⁸

神、妙、奇、巧。神者，亡有所為，任運成象。妙者，思經天地，萬類性情，文理合儀，品物流筆。奇者，蕩跡不測，與真景或乖異，致其理偏。得此者亦有筆無思。巧者，雕綴小媚，假合大經，強寫文章，增遜氣象。此謂實不足而華有餘。

Paintings in the divine class — the most accomplished — are those that manifest no trace of human activity with a brush. Typically, Jing Hao adopts a phrase from *Yijing* to describe this sort of painting: *renyun chengxiang* 任運成象 (images take shape from nimble movement). The relevant passage comes from *Xici zhuan*, as I have already quoted in the first section. It reads, "In

heaven, things become images; on earth, things take shape. Change and transformation are revealed."⁵⁹ The preceding phrase, *wangyou suowei* 亡有所為 (all marks of activities disappear), reflects the principle of spontaneity. Spontaneity is obtained by the unification of the painter's hand-held brush with the cosmic act of creation.

In Jing Hao's system of classification, the lesser forms of painting, which he calls *qi* 奇 (striking or unusual; here translated as "originality") and *qiao* 巧 (clever), are characterized by the show of technique. Visible traces of the brush mark striking images, which divert attention from the thing they aim to represent. Even worse, clever pictures seduce a viewer with their detailed representations of things. Likened to whittling and stitching, the act of painting is trivialized.

In the end, the old man in Jing Hao's narrative explains to his pupil that he must forget "brush and ink." In short, he must paint without attending to how he paints. He leaves the aspiring painter with these words:

"I hope that you will be hard-working in painting; then you can forget brush and ink and possess the authentic scene. The place I live is amid the stone drum cliffs, and I am styled the Master of the Stone Drum Cliff." I said, "I want to put myself in your service." Codger said, "This is not the inevitable outcome [of our meeting]. Consequently, I quickly bid goodbye and departed. On another day I sought him out, but he had disappeared. Later on I practiced his techniques of the brush, and having valued what I had received as instruction. I now edit and collect them to provide a standard set of rules for painting [that later generations can follow]."⁶⁰

“愿子勤之，可忘筆墨，而有真景。吾之所居，即石鼓巖間，所字即石鼓巖子也。”曰：“愿從侍之。”叟曰：“不必然也。”遂亟辭而去。別日訪之而無蹤。後習其筆術，嘗重所傳，今遂修集以為圖畫之軌轍耳。

Thus, the divine teacher rejects painterly technique. But his pupil, who has not refined the physical stuff of his body and transcended the material world, can only turn what he learned into a collection of instructions for later generations. There is an irony here. For the painter's pedagogical book can never equal the sayings of the old man, which were not written down.

The discussion on painterly technique in *Linquan gaozhi* is quite different and suggests that attitudes toward this issue were changing in late Northern Song times. Nonetheless, *Linquan gaozhi* was not intended to be read as an instructional manual. In his preface to *Linquan gaozhi*, Guo Si stated his motivation to write the text and introduced a brief biography of his father:

When I was young, I accompanied my father while he wandered among streams and mountains. Whenever [my father] set down his brush to paint, he would say, "There are rules for painting landscape. How can it be obtained in haste?" I listened to him about the way of painting. As soon as he said something, I

immediately made a record of it. Now I gather and collect them. There are around one thousand items. I do not dare lose any one of them so that I can present them to people with the same interest in painting. Alas! My father followed Daoist learning when he was young. He got rid of what is stale and took what is fresh. He wandered beyond this world. No one studied painting in our family. Presumably, he got it through his heavenly nature (*tianxing*) and consequently achieved a name for himself through the arts.⁶¹

思艸角時，侍先子遊泉石，每落筆，必曰：“畫山水有法，豈得草草？”思聞一說，旋即筆記。今收拾纂集，殆數十百條，不敢失墜，用貽同好。噫！先子少從道家之學，吐故納新，本游方外，家世無畫學，蓋天性得之，遂游藝於此以成名。

By drawing the reader's attention to his father, Guo Si authenticated his own text. Nonetheless, he created a persona for his artistic parent that corresponded with Northern Song ideals of the amateur painter. Ironically, Guo Xi was a court painter who was compelled to paint on commission for the emperor. Thus, Guo Si not only indicated that his father studied Daoism but also emphasized that he did not learn painting from a family member. His skill in painting was, therefore, a divine gift. Guo Si's description of his father accords with orthodox views about the painting done by educated men in Northern Song times. That is, the essential spirit of painting cannot be learned; great artists, like the heavens, always paint in a natural and spontaneous way. Thus, Guo Ruoxu 郭若虛 (act. ca. 1071-1074) argued that the Six Laws established by Xie He 謝赫 (479-502) can be learned, except for the first one – "Engender a sense of movement through *qiyun*." *Qiyun* cannot be understood through study. Those who have moral excellence are able to obtain *qiyun*, which is what distinguishes their paintings from those made by artisans.⁶² Deng Chun 鄧椿 (act. ca. 1127-1178) quoted Guo Ruoxu in the preface to his own treatise on painting.⁶³

Given this position, how can it be that Guo Si included his father's directions on how to paint certain aspects of a landscape? Guo Si contributed a paragraph packed with valuable technical details on the uses of brush and ink:

The repeated application of light ink in circling strokes is called "circling with the light" (*wodan*). Picking out an object with staccato strokes of a sharp brush, held almost horizontal, is called "texture stroke scrubbing" (*cunca*). To soak an area with three layers of wash is called "adding washes" (*xuan*). To moisten with a well-mixed wash is called "to cleanse" (*shua*). To point with the brush head held straight out away from you is called "to pull" (*zuo*). To pint with the brush head held downwards is called "to strike" (*zhuo*). To accent with the tip of the brush is called "to dot" (*dian*). Dotting is suitable for figures and also for tree leaves. To draw the brush steadily in a line is called "to delineate" (*hua*). This is suitable for buildings and also for pine needles.⁶⁴

淡墨重疊旋旋而取之謂之斡淡，以銳筆橫臥惹惹而取之謂之皴擦，以水墨再三而淋之謂之渲，以水墨滾同而澤之謂之刷，以筆頭直往而指之謂之捺，以筆頭特下而指謂之擢。以筆端而注之謂之點，點施於人物亦施於木葉。以筆引而去謂之畫，畫施於樓屋亦施於松針。

In this paragraph, Guo Si developed and invented a series of terms with respect to the techniques of painting. As a binomial phrase, *wodan* 斡淡 (to circle pale ink) derives from other terms in pre-Song art writings that included the word *dan*, or "pale." To add the word *wo* 斡 (to circle) is to explain how to apply pale washes of ink on a surface. The use of *cunca* 皴擦 (texture stroke scrubbing) differs from that in contemporary art writings. Liu Daochun 劉道醇 (act. ca. 1057) mentioned *cundan* 皴淡 (wrinkle pale) in his writing, but did not define the word. However, he used the word in relation to *gouzhuo* 勾斫 (hook and hack), which refers to the use of ink. Therefore, *cundan* can be considered to denote the use of ink.⁶⁵ Guo Si's use of *cunca* emphasized the role of the brush in painting. The definition of *xuan* 渲 (to add washes) recalls Tang Dai's 唐岱 (1673-1752) descriptions of the *cun* formula that Wang Wei 王維 (701-761) used in painting.⁶⁶ Yet its use in *Linquan gaozhi* was the first time that this technique was defined. The definitions of *dian* 點 (to dot) and *shua* 刷 (to cleanse) recall Yao Zui's 姚最 (act. 6th century) binomial phrase *dian shua* 點刷, the meaning of which is uncertain.⁶⁷ Guo Si apparently used the two characters separately and related them to brush and ink, respectively. The terms *zuo* 捺 (to pull) and *zhuo* 擢 (to strike) appear to be Guo Si's inventions. Words such as these were coined to describe all the texture-producing formulae executed in different technical ways with a brush.

In paying attention to the use of ink, Guo Si thus focused on the technical aspects of painting, unlike his contemporaries, who emphasized more the spiritual aspects of painting. For instance, in the following passage, Guo Si identified a number of different saturations of ink:

In manipulating ink, sometimes you use light ink and sometimes dark, sometimes scorched, kept or receding ink. At times you use ink made with soot scraped from the stove and at times ink mixed with blue in a diluted form. If you build the ink stone up with six or seven layers of light ink, then the color will be moist and rich, not harsh and dry. Thick and scorched ink is used for emphasizing outlines prominently. Therefore, if they are not used the angles of pines and the corners of stones will not stand out sharply. When you have thus brought them out, go over them with watered blue color and the tones of the ink will be distinct, as if emerging from mist or dew.⁶⁸

運墨有時而用淡墨，有時而用濃墨，有時而用焦墨，有時而用宿墨，有時而用退墨，有時而用廚中埃墨，有時而取青黛雜墨水而用之。用淡墨六七加而成深，即墨色滋潤而不枯燥。用濃墨焦墨欲特然取其限界，非濃與焦

則松稜石角不瞭然故爾，瞭然然後用青墨水重疊過之，即墨色分明，常如霧露中出也。

I cite this paragraph to show that Guo Si claims that his father used ink to represent depth. He described many kinds of ink: light ink, dark ink, scorched ink, kept ink, receding ink, ink made with soot, and diluted ink mixed with blue. He distinguished these various applications of ink by their texture and color, both of which depend on the water mixed in the ink. The graduated layers of ink create an illusion of volume on a flat surface. Thus, objects appear to emerge from mist or project forward. This use of ink can be seen in Guo Xi's painting, to which I shall return.

In other passages, Guo Si merely listed technical terms without any explanation. To understand these passages, a reader would necessarily have had to possess a certain amount of knowledge about the craft of painting. Thus, Guo Si provided a retrospective view on the process of painting composed only after the painting had been executed. His comments are formulaic versions of well established conventions of painting. For example, in the following passage, Guo Si did not indicate how *cun* 皴 (wrinkle or texture stroke) are made with a brush:

Distant mountains have no texture strokes (*cun*); distant water has no waves;
distant figures have no eyes. They do not really lack them, but merely seem to do
so.⁶⁹

遠山無皴，遠水無波，遠人無目，非無也，如無耳。

Indeed, the primary objective of this passage is to describe distant views of a landscape. The term *cun* is not the focus. Instead, he expected the reader to know what a texture stroke is. Thus, *Linquan gaozhi* should be considered as a "post-production" document, which Sarah E. Fraser defines as the least likely to provide primary information on practice.⁷⁰ The use of technical terms without definition or amplification in *Linquan gaozhi* shows that by the late eleventh century these terms were familiar, both among painters and among educated men who read books such as *Linquan gaozhi*.

In *Linquan gaozhi*, I want to argue, Guo Si's role is more like a recorder or an historian, rather than an instructor. In *Huaji*, "A Record of Painting," the last section of *Linquan gaozhi*, Guo Si recounted his father's career, including materials about Guo Xi's work at court during 1068-1085. Guo Si's recorded notes are far more detailed than other records that have survived about Guo Xi. That Guo Si included this section in his book evidences the historical nature of *Linquan gaozhi*. After all, in 1082, Guo Si became a *jinshi* 進士 (presented scholar, or candidate in the palace examinations); he was later promoted to the position of *xueshi* 學士 (academician)

during 1111-1118. Having been trained as a writer and an historian, it is unsurprising that he would write about his father's artistic activity in the context of an historical record.

Further, it is highly probable that Guo Si's historical framework was influenced by the genre of *leishu* 類書 (literally, "classified matters or classified documents," ordinarily translated as "encyclopedia"). *Leishu* are reference books that contain material excerpted from many primary sources and arranged according to subject.⁷¹ Most *leishu* included excerpts from art writings. *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Imperially reviewed encyclopedia of the Taiping era), for instance, a *leishu* compiled by Northern Song governmental officials and published in 984, contains two volumes about painting. The excerpted material widely ranged in date: some excerpts were taken from *Shi ming* 釋名 (Explaining names), written in late Eastern Han (25-220); others were taken from more modern art writings, such as *Hua duan* 畫斷 (Judging paintings), written around 725. There are few statements on teaching the methods of painting in these compilations. What we find instead are general statements about what painting is:

Shi ming says, "Painting is the multicolored embroider. It is to paint the five colors on objects."⁷²

《釋名》曰：“畫，繪也。以五色繪物上也。”

Lidai minghua ji says, "Painting is to spread education, help developing human ethical relations, expose the changes of the divine, and examine the profound and the subtle."⁷³

《歷代名畫記》曰：“夫畫者，敷教化，助人倫，窮神變，測幽微。”

If we compare *Linquan gaozhi* with statements in Northern Song encyclopedia, it becomes clear that Guo Si adopted the genre of the encyclopedia in composing the preface of his book. The following phrases appear both in *Linquan gaozhi* and in *Taiping yulan*:

Lunyu says: "[The sage] sets his ambition in Dao, behaves according to moral virtue and benevolence, and strolls in art."... *Lunyu* says: "Painting can be done only when there is white silk first." *Zhouli* says: "Painting can be done only when there is white silk first."⁷⁴

《語》曰：“志於道，據於德，依於仁，游於藝。”……《語》：“繪事後素。”《周禮》曰：“繪畫之事，素功。”

Guo Si organized the sentences in the same style as that in the encyclopedia. Nonetheless, *Linquan gaozhi* maintains a certain distance from the encyclopedias of its day, for much of Guo Si's text was devoted to recording techniques of painting.

The different representations of technique in *Bifa ji* and *Linquan gaozhi* suggest a shift in late Northern Song times. In the tenth century, writing about painterly technique was restricted. By the late eleventh century, it was still not pervasive. However, a few writers, such as Guo Si, acknowledged the newly recognized importance of painting and sought to explore techniques, even though they claimed that their texts were not instructional. This is quite common, for a number of educated men practiced the art of painting in Northern Song times. They were therefore familiar with technique. The official-artist Li Gonglin 李公麟 (1049-1106), for instance, focused on the craft of painting. He was famous for his horse paintings, which required representational skills, besides his innovative Buddhist subjects. Li's copy of Wei Yan's 韋偃 (act. 8th century) *Pasturing Horses* offers conclusive evidence of his artistic ability. In this painting, Li implies distance through overlapping forms that rise sequentially to the top of the picture; his use of ink wash creates texture on the surface of mountains and lends volume to the horses.⁷⁵ These refined techniques were never recognized as Li Gonglin's artistic accomplishment in contemporary writings. The increasing familiarity with painterly technique among those in his social circle may have inspired Guo Si to record his father's painterly craft in *Linquan gaozhi*.

Further, the techniques of painting described in *Linquan gaozhi* recall Guo Xi's *Early Spring*. This painting enables us to understand that the discussion of painterly technique in *Linquan gaozhi* is accurate. In the painting, mist is colored by brushing around a plain area with light wash and tint. For the mountain beneath the mists, Guo Xi used dark contours to delineate the concave parts and left the convex areas bare. The waterfalls have the same color as the silk; the outlines of gorges where the waterfalls originate are delineated with scorched ink. Guo Xi's manipulation of brush and ink testifies to his dexterity in using technical skills to create patterns in oppositional colors and shapes. Compare passages in *Linquan gaozhi* that describe identical effects:

For the coloring of snow use light and dark ink for the contrasts, but the tones of the ink should not be uniform when applied. For the coloring of mist, take the original tone of plain silk and brush around it with light wash to tint it so that no sign of brush or ink can be seen. The coloring of wind may be achieved through yellow earth and dust ink. The coloring of earth is obtained through combining the blue and black ink in different shades. Achieve the effect of waterfalls by leaving the plain silk bare and simply using scorched ink to indicate the sides.⁷⁶

雪色用淡濃墨作濃淡，但墨之色不一，而染就煙色，就縑素本色縈拂以淡水而痕之，不可見筆墨跡。風色用黃土或埃墨而得之。土色用淡墨埃墨而得之。石色用青黛和墨而淺深取之。瀑布用縑素本色，但焦墨作其旁以得之。

Like his father, Guo Si sought to describe the visual effect of the techniques and create patterns that could be represented on the silk.

The concentration on painterly techniques in the late eleventh century is relevant to an enthusiasm for art collecting during this period. At the end of the Northern Song, the number of artworks collected in the imperial court was many times larger than in previous dynasties.⁷⁷ Private art collecting flourished at the same time. This enthusiasm influenced contemporary art writing. The activities of professional and amateur connoisseurs were recorded in art texts.⁷⁸ The craze for purchasing art objects directly contributed to the expanding painting market in the Northern Song capital.⁷⁹

The spectacular scale of imperial and individual art collections and the wide circulation of paintings in the art market provided considerable empirical evidence for connoisseurs to refine their understanding of the techniques and forms of paintings. In this environment, artists also became connoisseurs. They were inclined to learn the manners and means of representation from paintings in their collections. For example, the entry to Li Gonglin in *Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜 (Register of paintings from the *Xuanhe* reign-period) stresses that Li duplicated famous paintings dating from a wide range of times and preserved the copies in his family collection.⁸⁰ Li's copy of Wei Yan's painting is an example. To copy is in the first place to create an identical image of the original painting. Thus, in the process of copying, artists learnt techniques of representation. Emperor Huizong also valued copies of famous paintings. Among 107 paintings attributed to Li Gonglin that were collected in the imperial court, a quarter of them are copies of early paintings.⁸¹ In this case, the point of selecting the copies for the court collection lay in their preservation of pictorial aspects of the original paintings.

The writing of *Linquan gaozhi* was influenced by contemporary trends in art collecting. *Huaji*, the last section of *Linquan gaozhi*, states that Guo Xi took charge of authenticating ancient paintings in the court collection dating from the first century to modern times. He won Emperor Shenzong's praise by "showing excellent expertise in appreciating artworks and identifying their sources."⁸² This was an important activity in Chinese art history after Emperor Taizong 太宗 (939-997) ordered Gao Wenjin 高文進 (act. ca. 965) and Huang Jucai 黃居案 (933-after 993) to authenticate and catalog collected paintings at the court. From this, we know that Guo Xi possessed knowledge of old paintings.⁸³ Guo Xi's experience in collecting may have affected the acceptance and admiration of painterly technique in *Linquan gaozhi*.

Conclusion

In this thesis, researching the differences and similarities between *Bifa ji* and *Linquan gaozhi*, I have argued that these two texts demonstrate how art writings about landscape changed during the Five Dynasties and Northern Song periods. Comparing the ways that Jing Hao and Guo Si used certain terms, I argue that in Northern Song art texts, an emphasis on metaphysical conception of the landscape began to give way to a focus on pictorial representation. In *Linquan gaozhi* Guo Si described bipolar patterns in landscape, which were also present in other genres of contemporary writings and visualized in contemporary paintings. Nonetheless, Guo Si turned to the concept of *yinyang* to understand the structure of a landscape and even resorted to geomancy to explain the patterns he perceived. Second, comparing how Jing Hao and Guo Si presented ways of seeing the landscape, I argue that in Northern Song art texts, visual perception became much more important than it was in previous eras. I examine words with which Guo Si described ways of viewing the landscape, his attention to light and shadow, and his desire to represent a landscape as a microcosm by conceiving of a body that moves in relation to the landscape. Third, comparing how Jing Hao and Guo Si described means of representation, I explain that painterly technique came to the fore in art writing during the late eleventh century. I explore which aspects of techniques Guo Si focused on as well as how he presented these techniques. I associate the concentration on painterly techniques with an enthusiasm for art collecting during late Northern Song.

Notes

¹ I have used the edition of *Bifa ji* that appears in *Zhongguo gudai hualun leibian* 中國古代畫論類編 (Categorical compilation of ancient Chinese painting theories), ed. Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1986), 605-9 (hereafter cited as *BFJ*). I follow Stephen H. West's English translation of *Bifa ji* in *Ways with Words: Writing about Reading Texts from Early China*, ed. Pauline Yu et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 202-13 (hereafter cited as *WW*).

² Guo Xi, *Linquan gaozhi*, comp. Guo Si, in *Zhongguo gudai hualun leibian*, ed. Yu Jianhua, 631-48 (hereafter cited as *LQGZ*). My discussion of "A Record of Painting" relies on a Ming-period imprint of the text preserved in China National Library, Beijing. I follow John Hay and Susan Bush's English translation of the text in *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, ed. Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 150-58, 160, 165-69, 177-82, 187-90 (hereafter cited as *ECTP*).

³ West identifies the two protagonists as "old codger" and "painter wannabe."

⁴ Kiyohiko Munakata proposes that *Bifa ji* was written in the form of *shenxian tan* (tales of divine immortals) in "Ching Hao's 'Pi-fa-chi': A Note on the Art of Brush," *Artibus Asiae*, Supplementum 31 (1974): 3.

⁵ *BFJ*, 605; *WW*, 202-3.

⁶ I follow West's statement that Jing Hao was using the idea of "spirit bells" as an example of the otherworldly nature of the location, which is well attested, for instance, in *Shanhai jing* 山海經 (Classic of mountains and seas). *WW*, 202.

⁷ See, for example, Xu Fuguan 徐復觀, *Zhongguo yishu jingshen* 中國藝術精神 (The spirit of Chinese art) (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1969), 197-215.

⁸ Chen Chuanxi 陳傳席, *Zhongguo shanshuihua shi* 中國山水畫史 (A history of Chinese landscape painting) (Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe, 1988), 67-72, 119-32.

⁹ Wen C. Fong, "Monumental Landscape Painting," in *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum*, ed. Wen C. Fong and James C. Y. Watt (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), 59.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 124. See also *WW*, 206.

¹¹ Fong, "Monumental Landscape Painting," 127.

¹² Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Interpretation: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 75.

¹³ Hellmut Wilhelm, *Understanding the I Ching: The Wilhelm Lectures on the Book of Change* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 10.

¹⁴ A. C. Graham, "The Yi," in *Disputers of the Tao: Philosophical Argument in Ancient China* (La Salle, IL: Open Court, 1989), 362.

¹⁵ *BFJ*, 605; *WW*, 204.

¹⁶ *BFJ*, 605.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 607; *WW*, 208.

¹⁸ Willard Peterson, "Perspective on Readings of 'The Record of the Method of the Brush'," in *WW*, 244.

¹⁹ Graham, "The *Yi*," 362. Graham translates *xiang* as "models." For the Chinese text, see Kong Yingda 孔穎達, *Zhouyi zhengyi* 周易正義 (Correct meaning of the *Book of Changes*) (Beijing: Peking University Press, 1999), 298.

²⁰ Graham, "The *Yi*," 362. For the Chinese text, see Kong Yingda, *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 258.

²¹ For example, in *Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜 (Register of paintings from the *Xuanhe* Reign-period), *xiang* only appears in a passage on Lu Tanwei's 陸探微 (act. ca. 450-490) painting (*Xuanhe huapu*, in *Congshu jicheng chubian* 叢書集成初編 [The first compilation of collected books], ed. Wang Yunwu 王雲五 [Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935], 1). In *Tuhua jianwen zhi* 圖畫見聞志 (Experiences in painting), the author cites *Xici zhuan* for the definition of *xiang* (Guo Ruoxu 郭若虛, *Tuhua jianwen zhi*, in *Congshu jicheng chubian*, 12.)

²² *LQGZ*, 635; *ECTP*, 152.

²³ *LQGZ*, 632; *ECTP*, 151-52. Bush and Hay translate *wang* as sightseeing, which is inaccurate. I prefer to translate the word as "gazing from a distance."

²⁴ Richard E. Strassberg, *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 45-57; Cong Ellen Zhang, *Transformative Journeys: Travel and Culture in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 10-11.

²⁵ Strassberg, *Inscribed Landscapes*, 189.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 190-91. For the Chinese text, see Su Shi, "Shizhongshan ji" 石鐘山記 (A record of Stone Bell Mountain), in *Su Shi wenji* 蘇軾文集 (Collected writings by Su Shi), ed. Kong Fanli 孔凡禮 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 370.

²⁷ James M Hargett, "Some Preliminary Remarks on the Travel Records of the Song Dynasty (960-1279)," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* (1985): 76-77.

²⁸ *LQGZ*, 635; *ECTP*, 153.

²⁹ Richard Barnhart, "The Five Dynasties (907-960) and the Song Period (960-1279)," in *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*, ed. Yang Xin et al. (Beijing: Foreign Language Press; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 100. See also Fong, "Monumental Landscape Painting," 121-38.

³⁰ Peter Bol, "Su Shih and Culture," in *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching*, ed. Kidder Smith et al. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 72-78.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 79. For the Chinese text, see Su Shi, *Dongpo Yizhuan* 東坡易傳 (Dongpo's commentaries on the *Book of Changes*) (Changchun: Jilin wenshi chubanshe, 2002), 295-96.

- ³² Kidder Smith and Don Wyatt, "Shao Yung and Number," in *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching*, 106-10.
- ³³ Ibid., 107. For the Chinese text, see Shao Yong, *Shao Yong ji* 邵雍集 (Collected writings from Shao Yong), comp. Guo Yu 郭彥 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), 1-2.
- ³⁴ Guo Pu 郭璞, *Zang shu* 葬書 (The book of burial), in *[Yingyin Wenyuan ge] Siku quanshu* [影印文淵閣] 四庫全書 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1986), vol. 808, p. 24.
- ³⁵ *[Yingyin Wenyuan ge] Siku quanshu*, vol. 808, no. 114, 39-64.
- ³⁶ Several passages in *Linquan gaozhi* indicate that Guo Si borrowed terms from the genre of geomantic writing. For example, he claimed that painting had its laws of physiognomy. The descendants of the artist Li Cheng flourished in large numbers, which accorded with the substantial foothills represented in Li's painting. This is a typical geomantic statement (*LQGZ*, 633; *ECTP*, 161). Scholars have noticed the influence of geomancy on the landscape painting. Chen Yunfei 陳雲飛, "You wudai songchu shanshui hualun kan fengshui xue dui shanshui hua chengshu de yingxiang" 由五代宋初山水畫論看風水學對山水畫成熟的影響 (The influence of geomancy over landscape painting in the Five Dynasties and early Song), *Dongnan wenhua* 東南文化 (Southeast culture) 183, 1 (2005): 48-51. See also Wang Zhenfu 王振復, "Zhengben qingyuan: lixing de jiedu 'fengshui'" 正本清源：理性地解讀“風水” (Back to the sources: a rational interpretation of "geomancy"), *Xueshu yuekan* 學術月刊 (Academic monthly) 43, 8 (2011): 105-16.
- ³⁷ *LQGZ*, 638; *ECTP*, 167.
- ³⁸ Susan Bush discusses Wang Yuanqi's 王原祁 (1642-1715) three compositional terms in his art writing in "Lung-Mo, K'ai-Ho, and Ch'i-Fu: Some Implications of Wang Yuan-Ch'i's Three Compositional Terms," *Oriental Art* 8, 3 (1962): 120-27. Bush suggests that these terms refer to pictorial structures. Although her argument concerns a much later time, it gives some insight to a similar aspect of Northern Song painting.
- ³⁹ *LQGZ*, 638-39.
- ⁴⁰ *BFJ*, 605; *WW*, 202-3.
- ⁴¹ *BFJ*, 608; *WW*, 212.
- ⁴² *LQGZ*, 632. *ECTP*, 151.
- ⁴³ *LQGZ*, 635. *ECTP*, 153.
- ⁴⁴ *LQGZ*, 634-35. *ECTP*, 152.
- ⁴⁵ Joseph Needham, "Light (Optics)," in *Science and Civilisation in China: Volume 4, Physics and Physical Technology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 122-27.
- ⁴⁶ Strassberg, *Inscribed Landscapes*, 163. For Chinese text, see Ouyang Xiu, "Zuiwengting ji" 醉翁亭記 (The Pavilion of the Old Drunkard), in *Ouyang Xiu Shiwenji jiaojian* 歐陽修詩文集校箋 (Collected poems and essays from Ouyang Xiu with annotation), comp. Hong Benjian 洪本健 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2009), 1020-4.

- ⁴⁷ Strassberg, *Inscribed Landscape*, 192-93. For Chinese text, see Su Shi, "Ji Chengtian yeyou" 記承天夜遊 (An evening stroll to the Temple that Receives the Heavenly), in *Sushi wenji*, 2260.
- ⁴⁸ LQGZ, 639; ECTP, 168-69.
- ⁴⁹ LQGZ, 634-35; ECTP, 152.
- ⁵⁰ LQGZ, 635; ECTP, 153.
- ⁵¹ For Chinese text, see Su Shi, "Chu Yingkou chujian Huaishan shiri zhi Shouzhou" 出穎口初見淮山是日至壽州 (Departing from Yingkou, I first saw Mount Huai, and then arrived at Prefecture of Shou on that day), in *Su Shi shiji* 蘇軾詩集 (Collected poems from Su Shi), ed. Wang Wengao 王文誥 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 282.
- ⁵² Ronald C. Egan, *Word, Image, and Deed in the Life of Su Shi* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 185. For Chinese text, see Su Shi, "Liuyue ershiqi ri wanghu lou zuishu" 六月二十七日望湖樓醉書 (Writing while I was tipsy on the twenty-seventh day of the sixth lunar month), in *Su Shi shiji*, 339.
- ⁵³ For the Chinese text, see Su Shi, "Li Sixun hua Changjiang jue dao tu" 李思訓畫長江絕島圖 (Li Sixun's painting *Distant Island in the Long River*), in *Su Shi shiji*, 872.
- ⁵⁴ Egan, *Word, Image, and Deed*, 185.
- ⁵⁵ ECTP, 116-23. For Chinese text, see Shen Kuo 沈括, *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談 (Jottings from Mengxi) (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1958), 546.
- ⁵⁶ ECTP, 119. For Chinese text, see Shen Kuo, *Mengxi bitan*, 565.
- ⁵⁷ BFJ, 606; WW, 205.
- ⁵⁸ BFJ, 606; WW, 205-6.
- ⁵⁹ Kiyohiko Munakata notices the allusion to *Yijing* in "Ching Hao's 'Pi-fa-chi'," 30. For Chinese text, see Kong Yingda, *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 258. Also see note 19 above.
- ⁶⁰ BFJ, 608-609; WW, 213.
- ⁶¹ LQGZ, 631.
- ⁶² Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua jianwen zhi*, 28-31.
- ⁶³ Deng Chun, *Huaji* 畫繼 (Painting, continued) (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1983), 2.
- ⁶⁴ LQGZ, 643; ECTP, 179-80.
- ⁶⁵ Alexander C. Soper, "Some Technical Terms in the Early Literature of Chinese Painting," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 11, 1/2 (1948): 167.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid., 171.
- ⁶⁷ Yao Zui, *Xu Huapin* 續畫品 (A sequel to *Appreciating Painting*), in *Zhongguo gudai hualun leibian*, ed. Yu Jianhua, 370.
- ⁶⁸ LQGZ, 643; ECTP, 179.

⁶⁹ LQGZ, 640; ECTP, 169. A similar paragraph appears in *Shanshui jieyao* 山水節要 (Extracted gist of landscape painting), which was said to be Jing Hao's writing. However, modern scholars convincingly argue that it should be attributed to writers in a later time (*Zhongguo gudai hualun leibian*, ed. Yu Jianhua, 614-15).

⁷⁰ Sarah E. Fraser discusses the concept of "post-production" in her analysis of post-Tang techniques in Buddhist wall paintings in *Performing the visual: The Practice of Buddhist Wall Paintings in China and Central Asia, 618-960* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2004), 8.

⁷¹ Zhao Feipeng 趙飛鵬 notices that poets in Song dynasty, such as Huang Tingjian, read *leishu* as a source of literary allusions and used them to compose poems in "Songdai shiren yu leishu: Yi Huang Tingjian wei li" 宋代詩人與類書：以黃庭堅為例 (Song poets and encyclopedia: Taking Huang Tingjian as an example), *Haixia liangan gudian wenxian xue xueshu yantao hui lunwen ji* 海峽兩岸古典文獻學學術研討會論文集 (Compilation of papers on classical bibliography for the academic symposium held by scholars from mainland China and Taiwan) 1 (2002): 207-19.

⁷² Li Fang 李昉, *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Imperially reviewed encyclopedia of the Taiping era) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936), vol. 750, 4b.

⁷³ Ibid., vol. 751, 1a.

⁷⁴ LQGZ, 631.

⁷⁵ Richard Edwards, "Li Gonglin's Copy of Wei Yan's *Pasturing Horses*," *Artibus Asiae* 53, 1/2 (1993): 170-75.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 643-44. ECTP, 180.

⁷⁷ Deng Chun, *Huaji*, 1.

⁷⁸ For example, the collecting activities of Chu Zhaofo 楚昭輔 (911-979), Wang Pu 王溥 (922-982), and Su Yijian 蘇易簡 (958-997) were recorded in Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua jianwen zhi*, 228-31.

⁷⁹ Meng Yuanlao 孟元老, *Dongjing menghua lu* 東京夢華錄 (The Eastern Capital: A dream of splendors past), *Congshu jicheng chubian*, 59-61, cited by Yang Renkai 楊仁愷, "Beisong shiqi shuhua shoucang gaikuang" 北宋時期書畫收藏概況 (A survey of Northern Song collecting of painting and calligraphy), *Zhongguo shuhua bao* 中國書畫報 (Chinese painting and calligraphy) (March 7, 2005): n.p.

⁸⁰ *Xuanhe huapu*, 198.

⁸¹ I follow Patricia Ebrey's argument about Emperor Huizong's interest in Li Gonglin and other artists' copies of ancient paintings in "Gongting shoucang dui gongting huihua de yingxiang: Song Huizong de ge'an yanjiu" 宮廷收藏對宮廷繪畫的影響：宋徽宗的個案研究 (On the impact of court collecting on court painting: A study of Song Huizong), *Gugong bowu yuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊 (Academic journal of the Palace Museum) 3 (2004): 110.

⁸² For the specific study of "Huaji," see Bo Songnian and Chen Shaofeng 薄松年、陳少豐, "*Linquan gaozhi* 'Huaji' zhaji" 《林泉高致·畫記》劄記 (Reading notes on "Huaji" in *Linquan gaozhi*), *Meishu yanjiu* 美術研究 (Study of art) 3 (1979): 66-71; Bo Songnian and Chen Shaofeng, "Guo Xi fuzi yu *Linquan gaozhi*" 郭熙父子與林泉高致 (Guo Xi, his son, and *Linquan gaozhi*), *Meishu yanjiu* 4 (1982):62-69; Suzuki Takashi 鈴木敬, "*Linquan gaozhi* ji 'Huaji' yu Guo Xi" 《林泉高致集·畫記》與郭熙 ("Huaji" in *Linquan gaozhi* and Guo Xi), *Meishu yanjiu* 4 (1982): 70-76.

⁸³ Bo Songnian and Chen Shaofeng, "*Linquan gaozhi* 'Huaji' zhaji," 67.

Glossary

<i>anshan</i>	案山
<i>bian er shang zhi</i>	遍而賞之
<i>Bifa ji</i>	筆法記
<i>candan</i>	慘淡
<i>cangcui</i>	蒼翠
<i>cha</i>	察
<i>chaoshan</i>	朝山
<i>cun</i>	皴
<i>cunca</i>	皴擦
<i>cundan</i>	皴淡
<i>da xiang</i>	大象
<i>dan</i>	淡
<i>danye</i>	澹冶
<i>dao</i>	道
Deng Chun	鄧椿
<i>dian</i>	點
<i>dian shua</i>	點刷
Dong Yuan	董源
Fan Kuan	范寬
Gao Wenjin	高文進
Ge Hong	葛洪
<i>gewu</i>	格物
<i>gouzhuo</i>	勾斫
<i>guan</i>	觀
Guo Ruoxu	郭若虛
Guo Si	郭思
Guo Xi	郭熙
<i>Hanlong jing</i>	撼龍經
<i>hua</i>	華

hua 畫
Hua duan 畫斷
Huage shiyi 畫格拾遺
Huaji 畫記
Huajue 畫訣
Huang Jucai 黃居寀
Huati 畫題
Huayi 畫意
Huizong 徽宗
jian 見
Jing Hao 荊浩
jinshi 進士
jingxiang 景象
ju 居
kaizhang 開張
kan 看
lan 覽
leishu 類書
Li Cheng 李成
Li Gonglin 李公麟
Liexian zhuan 列仙傳
Linquan gaozhi 林泉高致
Liu Daochun 劉道醇
Liu Xiang 劉向
longmai 龍脈
Mengxi bitan 夢溪筆談
mingjing 明淨
miao 妙
Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修
qi 奇

qi 氣
qiao 巧
qixiang 氣象
qiyun 氣韻
renyun chengxiang 任運成象
Shanshui xun 山水訓
Shao Yong 邵雍
shen 神
Shen Kuo 沈括
Shenxian zhuan 神仙傳
Shenzheng shan 神鉦山
Shenzong 神宗
shi 實
Shi ming 釋名
shua 刷
Su Shi 蘇軾
Taihang Mountains 太行山
Taiping yulan 太平御覽
Taizong 太宗
Tang Dai 唐岱
tianxing 天性
wang 望
Wang Wei 王維
wangyou suowei 亡有所為
Wei Yan 韋偃
wo 斡
wodan 斡淡
xiang 象
Xici zhuan 系辭傳
xing 形

xing 行

xing 性

xuan 渲

Xuanhe huapu 宣和畫譜

xuema 血脈

xueshi 學士

yanlan zhi jingxiang 煙嵐之景象

yang 陽

yang 仰

Yang Yunsong 楊筠松

Yao Zui 姚最

Yijing 易經

yin 陰

yinyang 陰陽

yingxi 影戲

you 游

Zang shu 葬書

Zhang Xuan 張萱

zhen 真

zhenjing 真景

zhi 質

Zhuangzi 莊子

zhuo 擢

zuo 挫

Illustrations

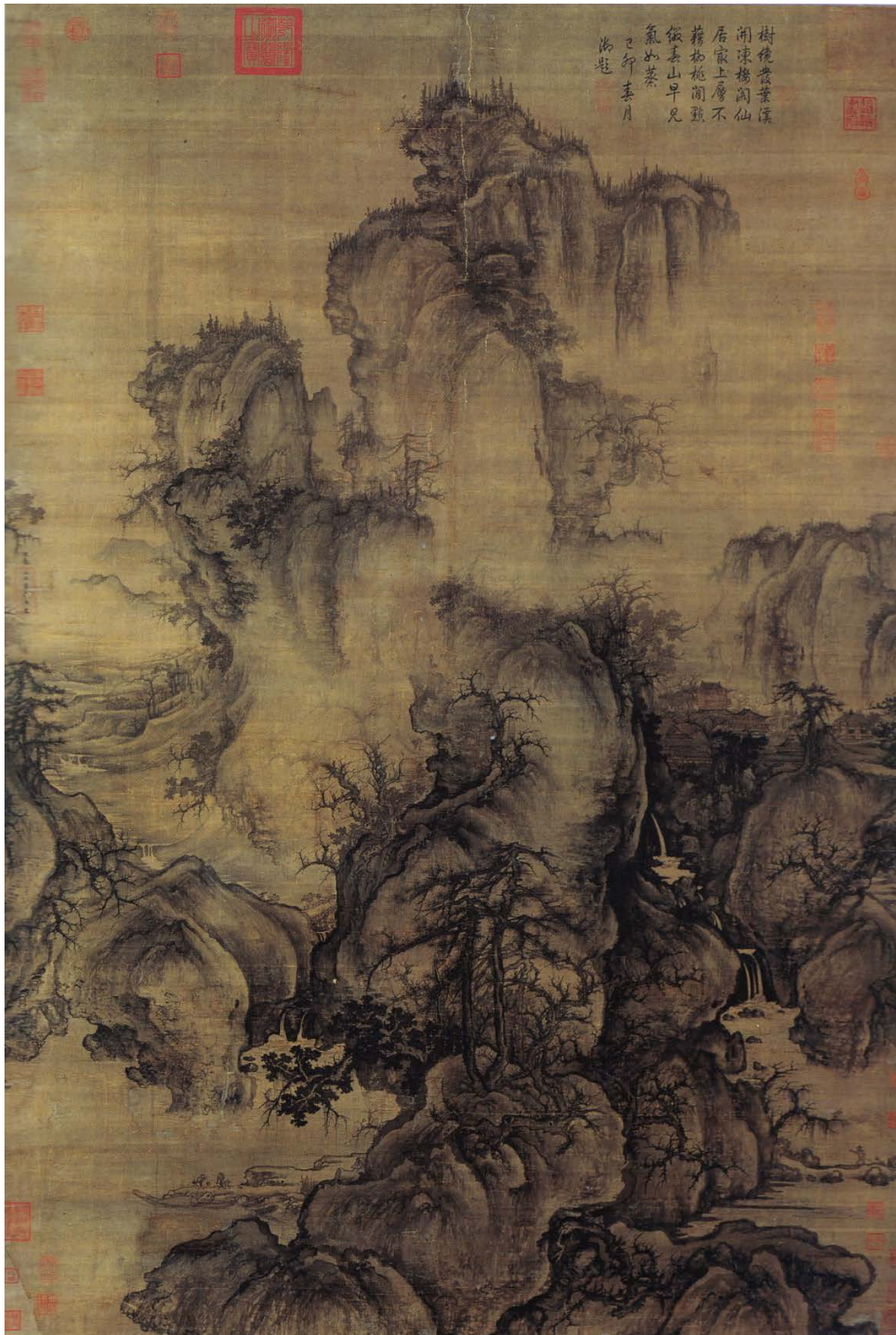


Figure 1. Guo Xi 郭熙 (ca. 1000-ca. 1090), *Early Spring* 早春圖軸 signed and dated 1072. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 62 1/4 x 42 5/8 in. National Palace Museum, Taiwan.



Figure 2. Detail of Guo Xi, *Early Spring*.



Figure 3. Detail of Guo Xi, *Early Spring*.



Figure 4. Attributed to Emperor Huizong 宋徽宗 (1082-1135), *Court Ladies Preparing Newly Woven Silk* 搗練圖卷 inscribed 1190-1208. Hand scroll, ink, color and gold on silk, 14 13/16 x 183 7/16 in. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Bibliography of Works Cited

- Barnhart, Richard M. "The Five Dynasties (907-960) and the Song Period (960-1279)." In *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*, edited by Yang Xin, Richard M. Barnhart, Nie Chongzheng, and James Cahill, 87-138. Beijing: Foreign Language Press; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Baxandall, Michael. *Patterns of Interpretation: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Bol, Peter. "Su Shih and Culture." In *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching*, edited by Kidder Smith, Jr., Peter K. Bol, Joseph A. Adler, and Don J. Wyatt, 56-99. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- Bo Songnian and Chen Shaofeng 薄松年、陳少豐. "Guo Xi fuzi yu *Linquan gaozhi*" 郭熙父子與林泉高致 (Guo Xi, his son, and *Linquan gaozhi*). *Meishu yanjiu* 4 (1982): 62-69.
- . "Linquan gaozhi huaji zhaji" 《林泉高致·畫記》劄記 (Reading notes on "Huaji" in *Linquan gaozhi*). *Meishu yanjiu* 3 (1979): 66-71.
- Bush, Susan. "Lung-Mo, K'ai-Ho, and Ch'i-Fu: Some Implications of Wang Yuan-Ch'i's Three Compositional Terms." *Oriental Art* 8, 3 (1962): 120-27.
- Bush, Susan, and Hsio-yen Shih. *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985.
- Chen Chuanxi 陳傳席. *Zhongguo shanshuihua shi* 中國山水畫史 (A history of Chinese landscape painting). Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe, 1988.
- Chen Yunfei 陳雲飛. "You wudai songchu shanshui hualun kan fengshuixue dui shanshuihua chengshu de yingxiang" 由五代宋初山水畫論看風水學對山水畫成熟的影響 (The influence of geomancy over landscape painting from landscape painting theories in the Five Dynasties and early Song). *Dongnan wenhua* 183, 1 (2005): 48-51.
- Deng Chun 鄧椿. *Huaji* 畫繼 (A painting: continued). Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1983.
- Ebrey, Patricia. "Gongting shoucang dui gongting huihua de yingxiang: Song huizong de ge'an yanjiu" 宮廷收藏對宮廷繪畫的影響：宋徽宗的個案研究 (On the impact of court collecting on court painting: A study of Song Huizong). *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 3 (2004): 105-13.
- Edwards, Richard. "Li Gonglin's Copy of Wei Yan's *Pasturing Horses*." *Artibus Asiae* 53, 1/2 (1993): 168-81.
- Egan, Ronald C. *Word, Image, and Deed in the Life of Su Shi*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994.
- Fong, Wen C. "Monumental Landscape Painting." In *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum*, edited by Wen C. Fong and James C. Y. Watt, 121-37. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997.
- Fong, Wen, and James C.Y. Watt. *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997.

- Fraser, Sarah E. *Performing the visual: The Practice of Buddhist Wall Paintings in China and Central Asia, 618-960*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004.
- Graham, A.C. *Disputers of the Tao: Philosophical Argument in Ancient China*. La Salle, IL: Open Court, 1989.
- Guo Pu 郭璞. *Zang shu* 葬書 (The book of burial). In *Yingyin wenyuange* Siku quanshu. Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1986.
- Guo Ruoxu 郭若虛. *Tuhua jianwen zhi* 圖畫見聞志 (Guo Ruoxu's experience in painting). In *Congshu jicheng chubian*. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935.
- Guo Xi 郭熙. *Linqun gaozhi* 林泉高致 (Lofty attraction of forests and streams). Compiled by Guo Si 郭思. In *Zhongguo gudai hualun leibian*, edited by Yu Jianhua, 631-48. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1986.
- Guo Yu 郭彥. *Shao Yong ji* 邵雍集 (Collected writings from Shao Yong). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010.
- Hargett, James M. "Some Preliminary Remarks on the Travel Records of the Song Dynasty (960-1279)." *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* (1985): 67-93.
- Hong Benjian 洪本健. *Ouyang Xiu shiwenji jiaojian* 歐陽修詩文集校箋 (Annotation on collected poems and essays from Ouyang Xiu). Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2009.
- Jing Hao 荊浩. *Bifa ji* 筆法記 (A record of the methods of the brush). In *Zhongguo gudai hualun leibian*, edited by Yu Jianhua, 605-9. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1986.
- Kiyohiko Munakata. "Ching Hao's 'Pi-fa-chi': A Note on the Art of Brush." *Artibus Asiae* 31 (1974): 1-56.
- Kong Fanli 孔凡禮. *Su Shi wenji* 蘇軾文集 (Collected writings from Su Shi). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986.
- Kong Yingda 孔穎達. *Zhouyi zhengyi* 周易正義 (Correct meaning of the *Book of Changes*). Beijing: Peking University Press, 1999.
- Li Fang 李昉. *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Imperially reviewed encyclopedia of the Taiping era). Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936.
- Meng Yuanlao 孟元老. *Dongjing menghua lu* 東京夢華錄 (The Eastern Capital: A dream of splendors past). In *Congshu jicheng chubian*. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935.
- Needham, Joseph. *Science and Civilisation in China: Volume 4, Physics and Physical Technology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962.
- Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修. "Zuiwengting ji" 醉翁亭記 (The Pavilion of the Old Drunkard). In *Ouyang Xiu shiwenji jiaojian*, compiled by Hong Benjian, 1020-4. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2009.
- Peterson, Willard. "Perspective on Readings of 'The Record of the Method of the Brush'." In *Ways with Words: Writing about Reading Texts from Early China*, edited by Pauline Yu, Peter

- Bol, Stephen Owen, and Willard Peterson, 236-44. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- "Shanshui jieyao" 山水節要 (Extracted gist of landscape painting), In *Zhongguo gudai hualun leibian*, edited by Yu Jianhua, 614. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1986.
- Shen Kuo 沈括. *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談 (Jottings from Mengxi). Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1958.
- Smith, Kidder, Jr., Peter K. Bol, Joseph A. Adler, and Don J. Wyatt. *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- Smith, Kidder, and Don J. Wyatt. "Shao Yung and Number." In *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching*, edited by Kidder Smith, Jr. Peter K. Bol, Joseph A. Adler, and Don J. Wyatt, 100-35. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- Soper, Alexander C. "Some Technical Terms in the Early Literature of Chinese Painting." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 11, 1/2 (1948): 163-73.
- Strassberg, Richard E. *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Su Shi 蘇軾. "Chu Yingkou chujian Huaishan shiri zhi Shouzhou" 出穎口初見淮山是日至壽州 (Departing from Yingkou, I first saw Mount Huai, and then arrived at Prefecture of Shou on that day). In *Su Shi Shiji*, edited by Wang Wengao, 282. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982.
- . Dongpo yizhuan 東坡易傳 (Su Shi's commentary on the *Book of Changes*). Changchun: Jilin wenshi chubanshe, 2002.
- . "Ji Chengtiansi yeyou" 記承天寺夜遊 (An evening night stroll to the Temple that Receives the Heavenly). In *Su Shi wenji*, edited by Kong Fanli, 2260. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986.
- . "Li Sixun hua Changjiang juedao tu" 李思訓畫長江絕島圖 (Li Sixun's painting *Distant Island in the Long River*). In *Su Shi shiji*, edited by Wang Wengao, 872. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982.
- . "Liuyue ershiqi ri wanghu lou zuishu" 六月二十七日望湖樓醉書 (Writing while I was tipsy on the twenty-seventh day of the sixth lunar month). In *Su Shi Shiji*, edited by Wang Wengao, 339. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982.
- . "Shizhongshan ji" 石鐘山記 (A record of Stone Bell Mountain). In *Su Shi wenji*, edited by Kong Fanli, 370. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986.
- Suzuki Takashi 鈴木敬, "Linqun gaozhi ji 'Huaji' yu Guo Xi" 《林泉高致集·畫記》與郭熙 ("Huaji" in *Linqun gaozhi* and Guo Xi). *Meishu yanjiu* 4 (1982): 70-76.
- Wang Wengao 王文誥. *Su Shi shiji* 蘇軾詩集 (Collected poems from Su Shi). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982.
- Wang Yunwu 王雲五. *Congshu jicheng chubian* 叢書集成初編 (The first compilation of collected books). Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935.

- Wang Zhenfu 王振復. "Zhengben qingyuan: Lixing de jiedu 'fengshui'" 正本清源：理性地解讀“風水”(Back to the sources: a rational interpretation of "geomancy"). *Xueshu yuekan* 43, 8 (2011): 105-16.
- West, Stephen H. "A Record of the Methods of the Brush." In *Ways with Words: Writing about Reading Texts from Early China*, edited by Pauline Yu, Peter Bol, Stephen Owen, and Willard Peterson, 202-13. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- Wilhelm, Hellmut. *Understanding the I Ching: The Wilhelm Lectures on the Book of Change*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Xu Fuguan 徐復觀. *Zhongguo yishu jingshen* 中國藝術精神 (The spirit of Chinese art). Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1969.
- Xuanhe huapu 宣和畫譜 (Register of paintings from the Xuanhe reign-period). In *Congshu jicheng chubian*. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935.
- Yang Renkai 楊仁愷. "Beisong shiqi shuhua shoucang gaikuang" 北宋時期書畫收藏概況 (A survey of Northern Song collecting on painting and calligraphy). *Zhongguo shuhua bao* (March 7, 2005): n.p.
- Yang Xin, Richard M. Barnhart, Nie Chongzheng, and James Cahill. *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*. Beijing: Foreign Language Press; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Yao Zui 姚最. *Xu Huapin* 續畫品 (A sequel to *Appreciating Painting*). In *Zhongguo gudai hualun leibian*. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1986.
- [Yingyin wenyuan ge] *Siku quanshu* 影印文淵閣四庫全書 (The four repositories). Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1986.
- Yu Jianhua 俞劍華. *Zhongguo gudai hualun leibian* 中國古代畫論類編 (Categorical compilation of ancient Chinese painting theories). Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1986.
- Yu, Pauline, Peter Bol, Stephen Owen, and Willard Peterson. *Ways with Words: Writing about Reading Texts from Early China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- Zhang, Cong E. *Transformative Journeys: Travel and Culture in Song China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011.
- Zhao Feipeng 趙飛鵬. "Songdai shiren yu leishu: Yi Huang Tingjian wei li" 宋代詩人與類書：以黃庭堅為例 (Song poets and encyclopedia: Taking Huang Tingjian as an example). *Haixia liangan gudai wenxian xue xueshu yantao hui lunwen ji* 海峽兩岸古典文獻學學術研討會論文集 (Compilation of papers on classical bibliography for the academic symposium held by scholars from mainland China and Taiwan) 1 (2002): 207-19.